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ALEXANDRIA
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MAHER ABD EL-KADER

Content

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PROF. MAHER ABD EL- KADAR

Avihai Shivtiel's article "Alexander the Great in the Jewish Sources" focuses on the Jewish sources that refer to Alexander the Great and deals with the relations between him and the Jews.

Alexander the Great is known in history because of his remarkable achievements that manifested themselves in sweeping victories over the Egyptians and the Persians and their allies. Among these allies was the Jewish community in Palestine, which consisted mainly of Jewish emigrants from Babylon. They settled in Palestine thanks to the aid and blessings of Persia. Thus, they became Persia's allies. Alexander the great realized that he could not defeat the Persians unless he succeeded in neutralizing their allies, namely the Jewish community in Palestine. He managed, however, to conquer Palestine easily, bringing the Jews' loyalty to Persia into question.

The Jewish sources which mention Alexander may be put into two categories: historical accounts and the Talmud and Midrash. While historical accounts such as Josephus' works "The Antiquity of the Jews" and "The Jewish War" present valuable historical facts, the Talmud and Midrash contain tales and legends about Alexander that include some historical facts.

In his book "The Jewish War", Josephus states that Alexander the great gave the Jews of Alexandria the right to settle in the city and enjoy the same right the Greek citizens enjoyed. Moreover, Josephus puts forward in The Antiquities of the Jews" that when Alexander heeded towards Jerusalem, the Jews met him outside the city. As a result he acknowledged the authority of the high priest and offered sacrifice at the Jewish temple in Jerusalem.

The Talmud mentions the same story with minor changes. It also includes a story about ten questions put by Alexander before Jewish sages and alludes to certain qualities of Alexander's personality such as greed. Midrash Rabbah presents stories in which Alexander either performs the role of arbitrator between the Jews and other nations or tries to befriend the Jews. For example, Midrash Rabbah states that Alexander blessed the God of the Jews and exalted righteous men.

The Jewish sources analyzed in this article are interested in the portrayal of the image of Alexander, presenting him as a ruler who showed respect for heritage and culture. However, historians pose a number of questions concerning these sources such as the question of how the Jews, who hated and despised their oppressors, formed good relations with Alexander. Moreover, some of the historical accounts of Alexander's conquest of Jerusalem doubt that he visited Jerusalem.

Thus, it may be concluded that some of these writings were fabricated or at least modified. Yet, the fact remains that these sources confirm that Alexander the great and the Jews had cordial relations.

Nicola Bonacasa's article "The Tomb of Alexander – New Evidence and Hypotheses", however, deals with questions related to the tomb of Alexander. Two events gave rise to these questions: the alleged discovery of Alexander's tomb at Siwah and the hypotheses that underwater research east-north-east of Fort Qa'it Bay is revealing traces of something that might be the tomb of Alexander.

The article, however, is based on the conclusion of a monograph by Achille Adriani that will be published soon. This monograph takes a vast chamber near the necropolis area of Shatbi, east of Alexandria, as its starting point. It proceeds to pose some questions related to the place of the tomb and its history. These include the question of whether or not there was a first tomb of Alexander at Memphis and, if such tomb existed, who ordered it to be moved to Alexandria. Both Diodorus and Strabo, most important historians, do not mention a burial place at Memphis. Yet, Pausanias puts forward that Alexander was buried at Memphis and that Ptolemy I transferred Alexander's body to Alexandria. The source that proclaims with certainty that Alexander was buried in Alexandria is Strabo. He stated that Ptolemy I buried Alexander at Alexandria, but his remains are no longer in the Golden Coffin ever since Ptolemy XI.

This debate over the burial place of Alexander is followed by a detailed discussion of three issues. The first is related to the shape of Alexander's burial place, the second is interested in the topographical and architectural significance of the association of the tomb of Alexander with those of the Ptolemies, and the third deals with the place where the "sema", i.e. the tomb and the sepulture temple, is to be found.

The article comes to the conclusion that the Macedonian nature of the tomb in Alexandria is confirmed. However, it is difficult to identify it, with certainty, as a surviving part of the sema, although it is in the area of the Bassileia, which is connected to the sema. Yet, some archaeological evidence proves that the area of the royal necropolis is situated towards the eastern part of the city and so are the royal quarters. This is also the area where the alabaster chamber was discovered. This contributes to the discussion of the issue of the burial place of Alexander.

The settlement of Macedonians in Egypt is dealt with in Argyo B. Talaki's article "Macedonian Presence in Alexandria". This can be done using two approaches: the ethnic approach and that which is based

on the analysis of the existence of Macedonian personal names even after the first two centuries from the time of their arrival. Some Macedonian named appear in inscriptions found in Alexandria, while dozens of well known Macedonian names are preserved in Egyptian papyri.

Many Macedonian prototypes can be seen in the institutions and administration of the Ptolemaic court. This can be studied on the basis of the writings of P. M. Fraser and R. Bagnal. One of the characteristics of the Ptolemaic court, for example, is the fact that royal envoys abroad were members of aristocracy, including relatives of the king. A Macedonian term originated to describe these envoys abroad. Some religious features that can be traced to Macedonia also appeared in Egypt such as the dedication to the Macedonian god Heracles. Another example to show the influence of the Macedonians is the introduction into Egypt of the worship of Dionysos. The descriptions of the objects carried by followers of this god in Egypt are similar to those held by his worshippers in Aegeae. Some features of funerary architecture have a Macedonian origin such as false doors and windows. The literary achievements of the Macedonians in Alexandria are to be recognized. They created the art of the epigram, and the most famous epigrammatist was the Macedonian Poseidippos from Pella. Finally, Macedonian women took part in religious processions in Alexandria.

Hussein A. El-Sheikh's article "The City of Helice A Part of a Sunken Greek History" deals with the issue of relocating the site of the drowned city of Helice to the north of the Peloponnesian Peninsula on the Gulf of Corinth. It aims at answering the question of how the city vanished and drowned. Pausanias is the main source of information as far as the fate of this city is concerned. He described the wrath of Poseidon which manifested itself in a violent earthquake and destroyed the city. Two thousand Achaeans were sent to bury the dead but they did not find any. The ruins of the city, however, according to Pausanias, Pliny and Ovid, were visible under the sea.

According to the contemporary historian, Heraclides Ponticus, the destruction of Helice took place on a winter night and the city vanished, as a result of this catastrophe, under the water.

According to Pausanias, the city was situated nearly 8 kilometers to the east of the ancient city of Aegium. The new city of Aegium, however, is located almost in the same place of the ancient one. Thus, the proposed location of the city of Helice is almost the same as the new city of Aegium. Yet, it is believed that the ruins of the city of Helice are

to be found under the water about 8 kilometers to the east of the city of Aegium.

Professor Magda A. El-Nowieemy deals with tracing the influence of Alexandria on the Roman poet Tibullus through presenting a detailed analysis of his first poem in her article " Alexandrain Implications in Tibullus I .1". The poem is divided into two parts: one describing the poverty and simplicity of the countryside while the other is mainly interested in portraying love and elegiac conventions against the ideology of wealth, military power and fame.

The first section of the poem rejects wealth and calls for a life of simplicity and personal freedom. The speaker's poverty does not allow him to take part in action. He is content to lead a humble life away from everything that urban life in the Hellenistic world represents. Life in the countryside is represented by using a number of symbols such as the slaughtered heifer, which was a peace offering.

The kind of life the speaker leads in the first half of the poem is significant. Tibullus was the only poet who joined military service and therefore, his rejection of military life is based on personal experience. Another historical fact is also important as far as Tibullus' life is concerned. In 42 B. C. an act was passed that granted soldiers pieces of land to provide them with settlements. The farm described in the first section of the poem may be either the figment of his imagination or a rael piece of land given to him after leaving the army.

The second part of the poem deals with love and introduces his patron, Messalla, who is a renowned warrior; the exact opposite of Tibullus. The image of Messalla highlights that of Tibullus through drawing comparisons and contrasts. The poem ends on a note connecting the countryside with love. As such, it is considered one of the most romantic poems of love. Its rural vision includes elements of Alexandrian life.

Another element of Alexandrian life is explored in the article" Alexander the Great and the Environment: A Presentation of the Ways of Reconciliation". It focuses the environment at the time of Alexander the Great and its effect on the behavior of man. However, the archaeologist deals with this aspect of life based on the study of archaeological remains and within the context of historical events.

Alexander's campaign had a scientific aspect to it. He was not just a military leader, but also an explorer who was interested in geography and science. He brought along scientists, architects, engineers, historians, poets, and philosophers. These recorded their observations

concerning the different countries Alexander conquered. These observations were collected in the Babylon Archives.

Among the scientists who accompanied Alexander was Arian, who described the flood of the Indian river and studied possible causes of this natural phenomenon. He concluded that this phenomenon was similar to the one which take place in Egypt. He also drew the conclusion that areas with similar environmental characteristics are also similar as far as their fauna and flora are concerned. These were also studied in detail. Another scientist who also accompanied Alexander's campaign was Theophrastus who established the science of botany.

Environmental studies usually deal with man's ability to adapt to the environment. This kind of study is developed into social and physiological anthropology. The knowledge accumulated by Alexander's scientists form the basis of these specializations and contribute to the understanding of different peoples and cultures.

Professor Baheia Shahin's article "A Granite Head Of Alexander the Great from Alexandria " presents another aspect of cultural life at the time of Alexander's reign. It deals with the vision Alexander had of himself and other Macedonian and Greek rulers . He did not aim at achieving absolute power in the East, but rather at creating a system via which he would share dominion with from the East. This idea was expressed through Hellenistic art in Egypt . The portrayal of Alexander's head in statues is an example of how art in Hellenistic Egypt gave expression to Alexander's ideology .

Alexander encouraged artists to create works of art presenting him . Plutarch states the characteristics of Alexander's image as it was portrayed through art . He also mentions that Lysippos was the only Greek artist who had the ability to capture the spirit of Alexander
His portraits of Alexander emphasized the idea of him as a Divine hero . Indeed, Alexander became a kind of patron deity especially in Egypt and was associated with Ammom. In Fact he was greeted as the son of Ammon . Before his death, Alexander declared that he was to be regarded as a god . Many heads of Alexander were discovered in Egypt. The article focuses on a granite head that is found in the Graeco – Roman Museum in Alexandria . It was carved by a native Scwptor who neglected many details of the impressionistic technique . However, he managed to present a whole on the top of the head which must have been used to sit an ornament. Although the head presents characteristics of the Lysippan style it also gives expression to the spirit of Egypt.



Alexander the Great in The Jewish Sources

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Introduction

Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), had become a legend in his own lifetime thanks to his remarkable achievements accomplished within just over a decade: sweeping victories over the Greeks, the Phonecians, the Egyptians, the Persians and their allies, ruling nations with absolute authority without overruling them and overriding their views and aspirations and establishing a global "realpolitik" which inspired many of his successors, though often stood in constrast with his naive idea to unite the ancient world, under his rule.

The Jewish community in Palestine at the time of Alexander consisted mainly of Jewish emigrants from Babylon, who returned to the country in a few waves of immigrration between 538 and 428 B.C. after several decades in exile. This political move became possible soon after the collapse of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires and the attempt made by their successors, the

Persians, to establish a new policy of "a chain of allied settlements", instead of the Babylonian practice of "expel and rule" of subject peoples. The Jewish new comers had tried to revive their nationalistic entity in Palestine with the blessing and aid of the Persian monarchs Xerxes and Darius. However, in spite of the great enthusiasm of the immigrants and the relatively stable economic conditions the friction between them and the friction between them and the Samaritans had caused the Jews a great deal of anxiety, especially that the Samaritans were determined to establish their own temple of worship, thus creating a strong competition with the Jewish temple in Jerusalem. It should be borne in mind that this competition had begun during the absence of the Jewish elite, when the Samaritans, who were not expelled to Babylon, supplied the religious needs and social framework for the Jewish minority who were not expelled by the Babylonians and the Assyrians, and who were mainly the poor and needy.

Being not only a silkful strategist but also a brilliant politication, Alexander realized that in order to defeat the Persians he should first neutralize their allies,

thus ensuring the isolation of his main enemy. He also knew that some of the subjects of the Persians were enjoying certain privileges granted to them by their masters. Hence, if he wished to gain their support he should at least match these privileges and offer the peoples more attractive rights, in order to "keep them happy", while he was leading his army against Persia, and later, India.

The jews who were grateful to the Persians for allowing them to retum to Palestine were but one example of the nations who were loyal to Persis and whose loyalty was challenged by Alexander. Alexander's conquest of Palestine in 332 B.C. was relatively easy, since, apart from the seiges of Tyre and Gaza, his troops had faced little resistance by the local inhabitants.

The Jewish sources

Jewish sources which refer to Alexander may be divided into two main categories :

The historical works of Josephus and the Talmud and Midrash.

Josephus works "the Antiquities of the Jews" and, to a lesser extent, his over works "the Jewish War" and "Against Apion" provide us with valuable information on the history and politics of the time, albeit not always reliable, while the Midrashim record a number of tales about Alexander, which are in fact popular legends containing some true historical facts.

Thus we are told by Josephus in his book "the Jewish war" (11;18,7) that Alexander had granted the Jews of Alexandria the right to settle in the city, which he himself had founded, and other rights equal to those of the Greek citizens. This was in recognition of their support to him during his war against the Egyptian rulers. Josephus also tells us in his book "the Antiquities of the Jews" (11,329ff) that the Samaritan leader, Sanballat, sought Alexander's permission to build a Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim and to have his son-in-law ordained as high priest. Alexander acceded to this request and also ordered the Jewish community in Jerusalem to accept his authority. However, when the Jews refused to obey him because they had sworn the oath of allegiance to the Persion monarch, Alexander

led a punitive expedition, heading towards Jerusalem leaders decided to beseech Alexander's forgiveness. They met him outside the city of Jerusalem, and when Alexander saw the delegation he dismounted from his horse and prostrated himself before the high priest, telling his surprised entourage that he had dreamed that the Jewish high priest had disclosed to him that he would beat the Persians. Alexander then entered the Jewish temple, offered a sacrifice and granted the Jews many privileges. The Samaritans, who heard the story, invited Alexander to their temple on Mount Gerizim, but Alexander turned down their invitation.

The Talmud (Yoma, 69a) brings the same story with only minor changes. Thus, it tells us that meeting between Alexander and the Jewish leaders took place in a different location, that is in Antipatris rather than Zofim; that Alexander's explanation of his gesture was that "the image of the high priest makes me win my battles" and that when the high priest told him that the Samaritans wanted the Jewish temple to be destroyed, Alexander gave the Jews a free hand to punish them. An action which was carried out enthusiastically by the

Jews who attacked the Samaritans, tortured their leaders and destroyed their temple, and also declared the day as an official festival.

Jewish sources also emphasize the role played by Alexander as an arbitrator between the Jews and other nations. Thus, we find in Sanhedrin (p.91a) and in Midrash Rabbah (Genesis, Chayye Sarah, 61,7) that the Africans alleged ownership of Palestine, the Egyptians demanded from the Jews to pay them back for the gold and silver taken by the Israelites at the time of the exodus, and the Ishmaelites claimed partnership over Palestine, all bringing evidence for their claims from the Jewish Book of Law proper. However, their allegations were all challenged by the Jews. The purpose of the story is undoubtedly to indicate Alexander's support for the Jewish right over Palestine.

Another story in Midrash Rabbah (op. cit.) tells us that Alexander was warned by the Samaritans that the Jews would never allow him into their Holy of the Holies. So when he visited the temple in Jerusalem, he tried to enter the place but was politely refused permission by a hunchman Jew, who told the ruler that

even Jews were not allowed to enter it. Alexander threatened him by saying that when they came out he would "straighten his hump", to which the man replied: "If you could do that you would be famed as a great surgeon and receive fat fees". Although this story does not tell us whether Alexander did in fact enter the Holy of Holies, it certainly suggests that Alexander was put off with this witty jest. (Cf. the English version of Midrash Rabbah, p. 547, fn.6).

Midrash Rabbah also tells us that Alexander blessed the God of the Jews and exalted righteous men (Leviticus, Shemini, XII, 5). Also the Jews of Alexandria, who were settled in the city by Alexander, were convinced that Alexander worshipped their God. They also welcomed his decision to move the bones of the prophet Jeremaih to Alexandria (Cf. Finkelstein, Vol. I,p. 91).

Relating to Alexander supernatural powers, Midrash Rabbah (Numbers, Naso, XIII, 14) tells us that when Alexander wished to ascend into the air, he used to rise higher and higher until he saw the world look like a ball and the sea like a dish. This story is probably

complementary to the legend recounted by other sources telling about Alexander's practice to fly over a golden eagle who was trained to ascend after it was given a piece of meat and descend whenever was given another piece of it. However, when one day the second piece of meat fell, while Alexander was in the air, he did not hesitate to cut a slice of flesh from his own body and offer it to the eagle.

Midrash Rabbah (Genesis, Noach, xxxlll and Leviticus, Emor, xxvll, 1) recounts two incidents which occurred during Alexande's visit to the country called kazia. In the first case Alexander was offered, upon tray. Alexander reacted angrily by saying that he did not need their gold. Then the king of kazia retorted: Had you then nothing to eat in your own country that you have come here?

in the second incident Alexander was present when two men appeared the king of kazia (according to the second source this incident took place in a province in Africa visited by Alexander). The first man told the king that he had bought a dunghill from the other person and found a treasure in it. The buyer argued that he bought

only the dunghill, while the vendor claimed that he sold the dunghill together with its contents. The king's judgement was that the first man's son should marry the second person's daughter and the treasure should go to the newly-wed couple. Alexander was astonished by the verdict, and when the king of kazia asked him what would have then been the verdict in Alexander's country, Alexander said : I would have slain both men and kept the treasure for myself. The king of kazia then commented sarcastically that if the rain descended and the sun shone in Alexander's country it was for the sake of the cattle they had, not for the people.

Midrash Rabbah (Leviticus, Emor, xxvll, 1) also relates a witty incident that gappened when Alexander, proceeding in his conquests, arrives called Carehage which was inhabited entirely by women. The women who came out to welcome him said: "if you fight us and kill us, your name will go down in history as a king who killed women, and if we fight you and kill you, your name will go down in history as king who was killed by women". Alexander decided not to fight them, and when he left their city he wrote on its gate: "I Alexander

of Macedon, was a fool until came to the province of Carthage and learned sound counsel from women".

The Talmud (Tamid, 31-32) tells as about ten questions put by Alexander before the Jewish sages and their answers, which clearly impressed him. It also alludes to Alexander's greed, when he was at the gates of the Garden of Eden, where he was shown a skull which the eye in it weighed more than all his treasures, but when it was covered with sand it became light in weight.

Although the myths about Alexander began in his own lifetime they continued after his death for many generations. Moreover, as the stories have been retold in different languages various versions have reached us, which usually contain additional details, but which are not more then the fruit of the imagination. Thus we find overlapping versions in medieval literature both in Hebrew and other languages, such as Arabic, Persian and Latin, and laterin other European languages. Also the genres used include novels, short stories, poems and plays, in which Alexander's image was often comparable to that of a deity.

Conclusions

As we have seen, Alexander's merits come out very well in the historical events and writings which concern the Jews of his time. Moreover, his amiable approach and consideration demonstrated towards then have aroused strong feelings of respect and admiration among the Jews for his personality. For even if some of the deeds ascribed to him do not always fall into line with historical facts, the myth surrounding his personality proves beyond doubt the place he had held in the hearts of the people. This may also be demonstrated by the fact that after Alexander's arrival in Palestine and his meetings with the Jewish leaders, all boys who were born that year were named after him.

Historians have often asked themselves how a nation such as the Jews who have always despised and hated their oppressors, and sometimes even rebelled against them, with the exception of a very few rulers who were respected by the Jews, could admire the conqueror Alexander so much. True, he had granted them special privileges, allowed them to continue to practise their religion without any disturbance, invited

them to join his army, granted them the right of settlement in Alexandria and favoured them "at the expense of" his relationship with the Samaritans. Yet, several other rulers did similar things for the Jews without enjoying such a prestigeous position in the community's heart and mind.

Moreover, since we have sufficient evidence which proves that a great deal of the information privided by the Jewish sources has deliberately been fabricated, or at least, exaggerated, [for example, many historians doubt whether Alexander did in fact visit Jerusalem or met with the Jewish leaders (Cf. M. Grant, p. 263), though some new evidence attest this event (Cf. A. Kasher pp. 19,22)], one should look for an explanation for the reason for the high esteem in which Alexander was held by the Jews of Palestine and the Jewish community of Alexandria, by heeding two major historical facts:

a. the dispute with the Samaritans, who regarded themselves as Hebrews but not Jews (Cf. the Antiquities of the Jews, 11,8,6), over religious matters, and in particular their claim for the high priethood strongly

defied by the "orthodox" Jews, caused the latter great concern. Hence, the Jews saw as their utmost priority putting an end to the attempts of the Samaritans to obtain permission to build a temple which would run into competition with the temple in Jerusalem, bearing in mind that the Samaritans's influence and their success in luring Jews to join them had jeopardized the orthodox's religious authority. Hence, developing and maintaining excellent ties with the new ruler were in the interest of the Jewish community.

b. Unlike the Samaritans who had betrayed their masters, the Persians, by joining forces with Alexander, though later they rebelled against the Macedonian governor of the area and were consequently punished severely by Alexander (Cf. Hammond, p. 130), the Jews loyalty to the Persian monarch, and their refusal to accept at first Alexander's authority, had certainly impressed the latter. He therefore decided to gain their support and loyalty in an honourable way rather than by force, though at first it seemed that he demanded their help and loyalty by threatening all the Jewish community (Cf. Hammond, p. 118).

To this one should add Alexander's interest in the heritage and cultures of the nations he conquered, which made him an enlighted ruler, who only resorted to power in case of opposition to his rule.

Concerning the question as to whether Alexander did visit Jerusalem or not, this will remain a historical enigma until more substantial evidence comes to light what no one doubts, however, is that Alexander and the jews on very good terms. The Jewish sources at least confirm this fact.

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The Tomb of Alexander - New Evidences and Hypotheses

Nicola Bonacasa

THE TOMB OF ALEXANDER - NEW EVIDENCES AND HYPOTHESES

Nicola Bonacasa

Two developments of great importance in Relation to the destiny of Alexandria have Occurred in The Last Two Years : The Alleged discovery of Alexander's Tomb at Siwah and The Hypothesis That underwater research east-north-east of Fort Qa'it Bay is revealing traces of the famous Pharos built by Sostratos of Cnidos.

With regard to Alexander's tomb, Iam rather sceptical of the discoveries at Siwah and prefer to followthe ancient written tradition according to which Alexandria is the final, amply documented, site of Alexander the Great's burial. (1)

My contribution today is based on the conclusions of a monograph by Achille Adriani which is about to be published for the first time by the Institute of Archaeology of Palermo University, through the courtesy of the General Direction of the Graeco-Roman Museum (2). This takes as its starting-point an element

of exceptional importance: the vast chamber consisting of six gigantic alabaster monoliths - an unicum in Alexandrine architecture- which occuppies a corner of the Latin Cemetery near the necropolis area of Shatbi east of Alexandria (3).

It may be that this important monument conceals the ruins of Alexander's tomb, and it is therefore necessary to make a critical survey of the ancient sources (4) in order to reply to a series of guestions: I) Was there a first tomb of Alexander at Memphis?; II) how are we to interpret Pausanias' declaration (5) that in this first tomb Alexander was buried noma ton Makedonon?; III) which of the two Ptolemies ordered the move from Memphis to Alexandria, Soter or Philadelphus?; IV) what was the correct denomination of the tomb, which in the written tradition alternates between sema and soma ?

At the age of just thirty-three, after a regin of thirteen years which had changed the face of the world, Alexander died suddenly on 13 June 323 BC. In Babylonia, by the king's order, it was established that his mortal remains shoud be buried at Siwah, in the

distant oasis of Zeus Amon, where he had gone on a pilgrimage some ten tears previously during his Egyptian campaign, and where he had been proclaimed the son of the god.

The decision of the transfere to Egypt was taken only after bitter dispute at court. There is however no doubt that the Macedon's remains were in fact despatched to Egypt. After Perdiccas' overthrow and elemination, and following the exclusion of the oasis of Siwah, Ptolemy - considering the prestige and great political importance which possession of the royal remains would confer on the capital and on himself - ordered that the funeral cortege should proceed to Memphis, where he created for Alexander the first burial place of which we have certain news (6).

Although Diodorus and Strabo, our most important sources, say nothing of the burial place at Memphis, it certainly existed. Curtius Rufus and Pausanias agree on the point, and it is also confirmed by a precious fragment of the "Paros marble" (7), which for the date corresponding to 321-320 BC bears both the news of Alexander's burial at Memphis and that of the death of

Perdiccas in Egypt.

Pausanias adds a further detail: according to him, Alexander was buried at Memphis nomo ton Makedonon. This expression most likely refers not just to the presence in Alexander's sepulchre of the traditional Macedonian funerary kline but also - and more importantly - to the tumulus - type architectural style of the tomb: the tumulus and funerary kline were traditional features of the Macedonian type of tomb, which boasted an ancient tradition and wide diffusion. Unknown in the Egyptian world, this type of burial, introduced by the Macedonians in Egypt to bury their king, was inevitably commented upon by Pausanias. Diodorus, Strabo, Curtius Rufus and the pseudo-Callisthenes (8) attribute the burial of Alexander at Alexandria to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, while Pausanias (9), speaking of Ptolemy II brother and husband of Arsinoe, says that it was he (and not Ptolemy I) who transferred Alexander,s remains from Memphis. A number of scholars tend to the opinion that Pausanias' version is the more reliable; but the expression used by Curtius Rufus, paucis post annis, corresponding to the

time interval between the burial at Memphis and the move to Alexandria, scarcely favours the interpretation in favour of the second Ptolemy, which would require an interim period of at least forty years.

The surest and most explicit source regarding the Macedon's burial at Alexandria is Strabo (10), who in his precious description of the metropolis, which he visited between 24 and 20 BC, states that Alexander's sema Was part of the royal quarters and that it was a peribolus containing the tombs of the Kings (i.e. the ptolemies) and of Alexander. A little further on Strabo Says That ptolemy (by whom he meant ptolemy I) buried Alexander at Alexandria where he still lay in Strabo's own day, except that the King's remains were no Longer in original Golden coffin, ever since Ptolemy XI - Alexander I (107-88 BC) had replaced it with one of alabaster. Strabo's words, "where [Alexander's body] still lies", have been rightly interpreted by el-Falaki, Breccia, Calderini, Adrianaand other scholars in the most obvious way: "at Alexandria, in the same spot where it lies today" (11).

Further questions arise at this point: I) what was the

shape of Alexander's burial place ?; II) what is the topographical and architectural significance of the association of Alexander's tomb with those of the Ptolemies ?; III) where exactly in the city was the sema?

The first point I think can be answered with almost absolute certainty: The sema was great tumulus with underground chambers. This is the traditional type of Macedonian tomb, already temporarily adopted for the royal tomb at Memphis, and also chosen for the permanent tomb at Alexandria. This is proved, for Memphis, by Pausanias' already mentioned phrase: nomo ton Makedonon; for Alexandria, by a statement by Lucan (in his poem pharsalia), concerning the visit of Caesar, who effossum tumuli cupide descendit in antrum, and by another statement related to the exstructus mons of Lucan's other reference (12); and, finally, there is the fact that we see the term sema used by Herodotus in his description of the tomb of Aliaptes, at Sardis, to indicate a "tumulus" tomb. It is also significant that the tradition of the tumulus tomb, with a peribolus, was again taken up once again for the burial of Antony and Cleopatra.

Let us now pass to the second question; relative to the topographical and architectural relationship between Alexander's tomb and that of the Ptolemies.

we can set aside the reconstructive hypotheses of Thiersch (13) - taken up by Breccia and Bernhard - regarding the presence in Alexandria of numerous royal funerary construction, all different as regards shape, location and function: from Alexander's original sepulchre-temple, built by Ptolemy I, untill the last of these isolated tombs, believed to be that of Antony and Cleopatra. All this is in open conflict with the concrete information of written tradition.

At the end of the first century BC, an eye-witness, Strabo, provides a definition of the sema that could not be clearer. The term sema, let us repeat, meant for a man of his time a peribolus which contained the tombs of Alexander and the Ptolemies. Except for Cleopatra's tombs - located separately, but certainly within the royal quarters, somewhere near the sea - we have no other reason to place the other burial places of the Ptolemies outside the "peribolus known as sema".

I will now briefly describe, on the basis of the written records, the various stages of the construction of the royal necropolis at Alexandria.

Alexander's sema, i.e. his tomb and his sepulchre-temple, we first erected in the area of the palace. This tomb, although evidently of majestic dimensions, must have been in the shape of a Macedonian tomb, i.e. of an underground burial place with a kline, built up and not just dug out of the rock, and surmounted by a tumulus. This can be deduced, as already said, from Pausanias' phrase nomo ton Makedonon and from the repeated expressions in Lucan of antrum, exstructus mons, and tumulus.

The first Ptolemies may have been buried in the body of the sema, but certainly in seperate rooms from Alexander's funeral chamber, or in distinct but adjacent monuments. In either case, the clear distinction that was certainly made under Octavian between the tomb of Alexander and the Ptolemaion must go back to the ptolemaic age.(14)

Ptolemy IV must have faced the problem of a new

arrangement of the sema, and not the construction of a new mnema. Strabo's statement- if the interpretation of numerous scholars is, as I think, accurate - that the sema was in his day where Ptolemy I had placed it, rules out the possibility that the Philopator's mnema was something completely new, i.e. a new building where the mummy of Alexander was transferred. It would have been strange for Strabo to make no mention of this presumed new building erected by Ptolemy IV. This initiative by Ptolemy IV Philopator must have been either an extension or a rearrangement of the old sema, or, more likely, the construction of a monumental peribolus which united and isolated the sema proper and the tombs of the first Ptolemies, the Ptolemaion, possibly in a new architectural framwork in the complex of the palace building. The mausoles and the pyramides (mentioned by Lucan) of Ptolemy IV's successors may have been added in the same peribolus, or somewhere in the vicinity. (15)

How can we now reply to the third question that we posed, relative to the precise location of the sema?

For this purpose, there are just three sources, regrettably not of equal clarity or certain interpretation: that of Strabo, who places the sema in the palace; that of Zenobius, who places it "in the middle of the city"; that of Achilles Tatius, who identifies a site known as Alexandrou topos, a few stadia within the Gate of the Sun (16). This site, which took its name from a monument related to Alexander, was in all probability the site of the Macedon's tomb.

According to Strabo, the palace was extremely large, covering an area corresponding to a third or a quarterof the whole city. In what part of it can we place the tomb ? Fraser (17) setsit without hesitation near the sea for the simple reason that the tomb was in the palace. But Strabo also points out that part of the royal palaces was occupied by the Museum, adding in conclusion that part of the royal palaces consisted of the socalled sema, a peribolus containing the tombs of Alexander and the kings. In the more detailed list of the buildings which Strabo then provides, along the coast from east to west, from the Lochias to the Caesarem and beyond, as far as the Kibotos - the little port into which the canal from

Lake Mareotis emptied itself (18) - there is no mention of the sema,which would exclude its location by the sea. On the contrary the geographer enumerates the "inner" royal palaces, to the left of the Great Port, beyond the rocks and the Lochias headland, using particularly strong terms of admiration. These "anner" royal palaces must have been the noblest and most spacious part of the whole complex in the southen part, back of the coast, at the same time facing the northen part that stretched towards the sea. This explanation seems to me the most plausible.

The other two sources regarding the location of the sema, those of Zenobius and Achilles Tatius, provide us with further indication that enables to locate the sema with the further accuracy within the royal palaces. Zenobius, as we have seen, sets the sema in the centre of the city. However, Achilles Tatius' testimony regarding the Alexandrou topos places the sema at the junction of the two main streets. This crossroads, the beauty and elegance of which strike the imagination of the hero of Achilles Tatius' novel, the young Cleitophon, very likely corresponds to the city centre,

which would lend credibility to Zenobius' statement. The significance of Achilles Tatius' Alexandrou topos must be related to some building or monument which gave Alexander's name to the site, and this with utmost certainty must have been the sema.

We can rule out the stretch of the coast running from the Lochias headland to the Caesareum, because in that area Strabo's description does not include the royal necropolis. We must therefore direct our attention towards the inner part of the area bounded to the north by the coast and the Lochias headland, to the south by the great longitudinal L1 and to the east by the presumable limit of the Hellenistic city, at the level of the road known as R4 bis, which corresponds more or less to the presumed extension eastwards of the royal quarters (further on are the areas occupied by the necropolises of the Hellenistic period). The two streets are among those marked on the controversial but reliable map by Mohmoud el-Falaki (19). The city which this represents, as el-Falaki himself realized and as was subsequently confirmed, but in all probability it followed and extended the layout of the Hellenistic city.

As Zenobius (of the period of Hadrian) places Ptolemy IV's mnema in the centre of the city (20), we are inclined to seek the site in a part of the palaceto the north of the great longitudinal L1, near one of the crossroads which the north- south sidestreets formed with it. The most important of these crossroads on el-Falaki,s map is situated where the great longitudinal L1 intersects the great transversal R1. The trial excavations carried out by Noack (21), although not absolutely confirming the dimensions and the particular characteristic of R1 which el-Falaki had attributed to it, did however confirm that its width and certain other characteristics indicated that it could be regarded as the main transversal road. As we shall see, those who place the site of the royal necropolis at Kom ed-Dick (and that means particularly all scholars of Alexandrine topograph) locate the city centre at the crossroads between LI and another transversal road, R4, which is considerably further west. This second crossroads may correspond to the centre of the Hellenistic city, which spreads less eastwards, but it does not correspond to the condition of being the crossroads of the two main streets of the Roman city. Whether We Like it or not, We

cannot ignore the identification of the great teansversal roa with RI on his mop : we possess no Other altemnative equally supported by archaeological data.

Now, let us return for a moment to the decisive testimony of Achilles Tatius, who in Imperial period placed the Alexandrou topos at the junction of the two great colonnaded longitudinal and transversal streets. The site indicated by Achilles Tatius is just a few stadia within the Gate of the Sun, and only the L1/R1 crossroads on el-Falaki's map satisfies this condition.

That being so, the site of the sema is probably to be sought towards the inner part of the area universally recognized as being that of the palace, in the south-east sector, not far from the L1/R1 crossroads.(22)

Notwithstanding, nearly all maps of Alexandria place the sema in the Kom el-Dick area, at the junction of L1 and R4, giving rise to great historical and topographical confusion between the centre of Hellenistic Alexandria and the centre of Roman Alexandria (23). So it is the map presented by Wolfram Hoepfner in Berlin in 1988, reproposed by Zsolt Kiss at

Tarragona in 1993 and accepted by w. A. Daszewski in Paris in 1994. Still doubtful, in 1993, the opinion of Harry E. Tzalas, Nebi Daniel or north-eastern quarters of the city. (24)

At this point we should perhaps describe a number of sensational "discoveries" all more or less recent and all quite imaginary, regarding Alexander's Tomb. But we haven't the time.

We shall merely say that they renge from the date of AD 400, with the first appearance of the name of ed-Daymas, associated to "ed-Demas" and the Greek soma; to the placing of Alexander's tomb at the centre of the city and in the ed-Demas area, in the tenth century, by the writer El-Mas 'udi, the site allegedly corresponding to the mosque of Dhu el-Karnayn, recalled in the ninth century by another Arab writer, Ibn 'Abd-el Hakam (25); Dhu el-Karnayn the "Lord of the two horns", was the attribute which Alexander received as the son of Zeus Amon; to the allusion to the same building by the Granada Geographer leo Africanus (1517), the same building being recalled some decades later, in 1546 and 1610, by the travellers Marmol and

Sandys; in the 18th century the site of the tomb and the sarcophagus (which is that of Nectanebus II) were identified in the church of St Athanasius, subequently the el-'Attarin mosque, mentioned by R. Pococke and explicitly, in 1774, by the Florentine D. Sestini; until the 19th century, when only Saint Genis (1829) failed to give the traditional attribution; but a few years before (1805) E.D. Clarke had devoted a learned monograph to the monument, with the eye-catching title The Tomb of Alexander the Great; let us pass over Rhakotis and the ancient Serapeus, both indicated as the site of the tomb, an idea artfully reproposed after the second world war by Wace and Rowe, and before them, in naive good faith, by Hoghart. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was widely held that the site of the royal tomb was at the foot of Kom ed-Dick, and more precisely beneath the Nebi Daniel mosque. This was universally asserted by nearly all scholars of Alexandrine topology, including Breccia. And the dream, for dream it is, still goes on today. In 1850, a certain Ambroise Schilizzi, a dragoman at the Russian Consulate in Alexandria, believed he had discovered the tomb in the underground chambers of the Nebi Daniel mosque. In 1893, an

Alexandrine Greek, Joannides, claimed to have identified the tomb at Campo Cesare (Caesar's Field),an eastern suburb of the city. There was even a local scholar of some repute, T. Neroutsos Bey, who affirmed that beneath the Nebi Daniel mosque there were "caveaux funeraires paiens les plus magnifiques", dating back to the Ptolemies. Another Alexandrine Greek, Stelic Kamutsos, claimed in 1960 to know the exact site of the tomb. And, to conclude, a man aged over a hundred, Mohamed Aly el-Toraby, stated that in his youth he had crossed the threshold of a long subterranean chamber which stretched beneath the area of the mosque and led to Alexander's tomb and that he was ready to reveal the site to the then Curator of the Graeco-Roman Museum, H. Riad (26).

But let us set aside these amateurish claims.

Much more worrying are the somewhat hasty statements of nearly all scholars of Alexanderine topography who firmly believe that it is possible to place the sema at Kom el-Dick. Very few deny this, but these include two authoritative scholars, M. Rodziewicz and F. El- Fakharani (27). To give just one example, we

may recall the fanciful thesis put forward in 1956 by M.L. Bernhard (28) regarding the outward appearance of the Macedon's tomb, based on the study of a type of Roman terracotta lamp with a sea-view of Alexandria. This would appear to show the sema on the coast, but Bernhard forgets that it is placed at the crossroads between the longitudinal L1 and the transversal R4, in the customary Kom el-Dick zone, i.e. inside the city. Moreover, we know direct from Strabo that the sema was not on the coast, and it would be ridiculous to suppose that the Kom el-Dick and the Nebi Daniel mosque wre shown overlooking the sea, in the coastal sector of the royal quarter.

More generally we can affirm that as things stand today, bearing in mind our knowledge of the ancient sources and archaelogical data, the alleged link between the Basileia and the sema situatedin the Kom el-Dick / Nebi Daniel area is topologically speaking an utter absurdity.

This is the moment to advance a new hypothesis, that of Adriani, which we fully support. This hypothesis is based on a concrete and convincing monumental

testimony and a series of indications that appear to corroborate the hypothesis.

The idea came to Adriani as he viewed the ruins of the sumptuous and most singular monument, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, which is the colossal tomb of pink alabaster. Discovered in 1907, it was long largely ignored. Breccia (29) mentioned it briefly but did not explore it. In 1936 Adriani restored it and established some order (30). The site is in the present-day New Latin Cemetery, on the eastern edge of the presumed area of the ancient royal quarters, not far from the wellknown Hellenistic Age eastern necropolis (Shatbi and Hadra sectors).

This is unique monument in Alexandria as regards the quality of the material used, the finest oriental alabaster, which must have given the complete building great elegance, considering also its architectural style. Unfortunately it is no longer possible for us to form an idea of the vast trapezoid peribolus in which we are told the monument stood when it was discovered and which, as Breccia wrote, was bounded by a high wall, now demolished, "several metres" thick, made of rectangular

limestone blocks. Nor have we any trace or know what to make of the "ruins of a naos" which Breccia mentions together with the two "uprights" (of which today only one survives intact) and architrave of a door.

Adriani's trial excavations during the restoration work, in the narrow space available around the monument, did not reveal any conclusive evidence. He found pnly traces of a well and of a channels dug in the rock (31).

The monument consists of a simple rectangular flat-roofed chamber (2.62 metres by 3.45, and 2.70 metres in height),completely open to the north, with a deep corridor halfway along the south wall embellished by an elegant Doric-type relief framework (dimentions of the doorway: 0.93 metres by 2.05). The walls and ceiling are completely smooth, without any form of decoration - the beauty of the alabaster material enriched by the interplay of broad sinuous natural markings is sufficient in itself. Externally, the majestic blocks used to construct the chamber are roughly surfaced and cut in great irregular shapes, which must have been intended to be concealed from sight. The base

of the monument was formed by a great monolithic alabaster block, and the floor was flanked by two rows of limestone blocks suppoering the side walls. The whole construction stood on a foundation consisting of a deep layer of earth and limestone blocks. The ceiling consisted of another monolithic block of alabaster (4.62 metres by 3.00 and 0.70 metres thick). The end wall was made of three blocks: one horizontal, forming the top of the corridor and including the upper part of the framework of the door, with two cavities on the flat ceiling, to the side, intended to bear bolts for the hinges of the leaves of a door; and two vertical blocks bearing the other horizontal covering block. The vertical elements of the door framework had been created in these two blocks.

The chamber is the only surviving part, and certainly not the most important, of a complex of at least three rooms, which we can imagine located successively along the same axis, a complex with an ample double vestibule and an inner, more secluded chamber that must have constituted the main nucleus of the monument; but the whole building may have been richer

and more extensive - we have no means of knowing. This would appear substantially to be a reflection of the concept of Alexandrine underground chambers in "oikos" style, with their single-axis plan(32). The inmost chamber, to the south, would appear to be the burial chamber, very likely with a bed-sarcophagus, the royal kline; this must have been the most important room in the complex. Access to it was through a two-leaf door, Possibly made of alabaster with bronze fittings, the existence of which is testified by the two large hinge-cavities situated practically in the lintel of the architrave. A simple and elegant Doric-type framework (33), as we have said, surrounded the corridor externally. But what must have characterized this chamber tomb, distinguishing it form all others found in Alexandria, is not just the richness of the material used but also, and more particularly, its architectural design. Here we had a monument constructed and not dug out of the rock, and the outward rough appearance of the blocks clearly indicates that they were meant to be hidden from sight, almost certainly beneath a tumulus proper, in the manner of Macedonian-type tombs; while the extraordinary

thickness of the blocks would seem to be related to the weight of the earth and the structures they were intended to support. The result is a hypogeum in the Macedonian tradition, quite unlike any of the Alexandrine open-court hypogea.

Breccia surmised that the chamber might be a surviving element of the Nemeseion (34), an edifice which Caesar caused to be constructed to house the head of the ill-starred Pompey, killed by order of Ptolemy, which had been presented to Caesar on his arrival in Egypt.

At first Adriani (35) accepted Breccia's hypothesis but later, on the basis of his long studies on Alexandrine topology, he changed his mind and eventually put forward a new and revolutionary hypothesis, which we share (36).

Is it not more plausible that this chamber - so exceptional as regards the quality of its material (in Alexandria, coloured marbles and alabasters were very frequently imitated in wall coverings, but were rarely conserved) (37) and the technique of its construction,

quite different from that of any other hypogeum in Alexandria, even among the most important - is in fact an element of the sema ?

Before giving a positive answer to this intriguing question we should first consider the relationship of the chamber to Macedonian-type tombs, a relationship which proves to be very close. Firstly, as regards the type of construction: like most Macedonian tombs, this chamber was constructed with blocks and was intended to be underground, i.e. not dug out of the rock, as was the case with Alexanderine hypogea. Secondly, there can be no doubt of the presence of a great tumulus of earth that completely covered the chamber that has been preserved as well as those that are no longer extant. The base of the tumulus was very likely provided with a crepidoma in masonry. The chamber was the midpoint between the burial recess proper and another room to the north. The dromos or access stairway, a customary feature in Macedonian, probably led to this other room. The burial chamber - quite small, about half the size of that still extant - must have contained the sumtuous royal funeral bed, which is a characteristic feature of

Macedonian tombs. There are a number of other traditional but consistent minor features common to Macedonian tombs and this construction in Alexandria : the use of a Doric framework for the access door to the burial chamber; the existence in the tomb at Alexandria of one of those two-leaf doors of which there re such beautiful examples in the "Macedonian" tombs. In our case the two parts of the door may also have been made of alabaster : in Macedonian hypogea, doors were mosty made of marble and sometimes of wood, with or without bronze fittings. It is probably no coincidence, but very likely due to observance of the traditional architectural design that we have suggested, that the reduced dimensions of the underground chambers also correspond to the Macedonian model (the chamber in Alexanderia measures 2.63 metres by 3.45, while the rooms in Macedonian tombs vestibules and burial chambers - measure some 2.00 metres by 3.40) (38).

None of the architectural elements surviving in Alexandria enables us to restore to the alabaster tomb any of the architectural facades that were frequent in Macedonian. But it is legitimate to hypothesize their

presence even in this tomb in Alexandria, a city where the taste for architectural facades was common in later hypogeal constructions. One need only consider the fine architectural facades of the Shatbi hypogea and numbers one and three of the Mustapha Pasha necropolis (39). This architectural facade, also in alabaster, was certainly of the Doric order, marked by pillars or columns, and surmounted by a tymapanum or attic. Contrary to Adriani's belief, it is likely that this facade was directly connected to the present-day alabaster chamber, without there being any need of a third room to the north. The reason for this is that typical Macedonian tombs consist of just two parts and that also, even when the vestibule has a flat covering, the burial chamber nearly always a vaulted roof. In our case, for the burial recess, we should therefore imagine an analogous construction, vaulted, constructed in blocks, stuccoed and painted internally to resemble alabaster (40).

The hypothsis alabaster-tomb / sema takes up strength from another impressive datum.

We mentioned that in the first brief announcement of the discovery Breccia reported that the

monument was in the area of the vast trapezoid peribolus bounded by a lofty wall several metres thick, made of rectangular blocks (41). This peribolus inevitably brings to mind the peribolus where Strabo claims the sema was located.

If the above observations confirm the Macedonian nature of the tomb in Alexandria, it is not equally certain that we can identify it as a surviving part of the sema, which brings us back to the question that we posed. This luxurious Alexandrine tomb could have been constructed for some other personage of the court of the Ptolemies, as some, including Poulsen (42), have thought. But the "topographical data" are here in our favour. The tomb is in the area of the Bassiléia. This is confirmed by elements that can refer only to the sema, i.e. to the location in an area of the city that can be identified with the tópos Alexándrous of Achilles Tatius near the crossroads of the two main streets L1/R1 and at the city centre, as can be inferred for the sema from the evidence of Zenobius, and also near the alleged site of the Dhu¯el-Karnayn mosque, the "Lord of the two horns", which very likely takes its name from Alexander.Further evidence that persuades us to seek

the site of the royal necropolis towards the eastern sector of the city and toward the royal quarters is, in conclusion - apart from what Strabo tells us - the existence of two Latin texts that recall a Procurator Neaspoleos et Mausolei (43). The association of the Neapolis and the Mausoleum in the functions of the procurator entitles us to argue that very probably there was a stong topographical relationship between the two sites, which may have been one of vicinity or even of identity (the Mausoleum would have been an important element of the Neapolis). If the Roman Neapolis is to be placed in the north-east sector of the city, it follows which is that of the Ptolemaic-age royal quarters and also that in which the alabaster chamber was located.

FOOTNOTES

(1) N.Bonacasa, in Giornate di studio in on. di A. Adriani, Rome 26-27 nov. 1948 (stmisc, 28), Roma 1991, P.3 ss.; Id., in Alessandro Magno, storia e mito, (Catalogo Mostra Fond. Memmo), Roma 1995, PP 264 -266.

(2) A. Adriani, La Tomba di Alessandro : realtá, ipotesi, fantasie, Roma 1996 (in Printing).

(3) Adriani, Annuaire du Musé Gréco-Romain 1935-1939, Alexandrie 1940, pp. 15-23; Id., in EAA, I, 1958, pp. 213-214; Id., Repertorio d'arte dell 'Egitto greco-romano, Serie C, I-II, Palermo 1966, pp. 22 ss., 28 ss., 140 ss. (n. 89), 242 ss.; J. Fedak, Monumental YTombs of the Hellenistic Age, Toronto 1990, p. 129 ss. Inexplicably, the tomb is unkown (?) to R. Pagenstecher, Nekropolis, Leipzing 1919.

(4) Collected by A. Calderini, Dizionario dei nomi geograficie topografici dell 'Egitto greco-romano, I, 1, Cairo 1935, p. 149 ss.; Adriani, Repertorio, pp. 242 ss., 267 ss. See also, A. Bernard, Alexandrie la Grande, Paris 1966, p. 229 ss.; H. Thiersch, in JdI, 15, 1910, p. 55 ss.; M.L. Bernhard, in RA, 47, 1956, p. 129 ss.; P.M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria, Oxford 1972, I, p.

3 ss., II, pp. 1-111 passim, III, p. 71 (s.v. sema); H.E. Tzalas, in Graeco-Arabica, V, 1993, p. 333 ss.

(5) Pausanias, I, VI, 23.

(6) Pausanias, I, VII, 2.

(7) Diodorus Siculus, XVIII, 28, 4 ss.; Strabo, XVII, 1, 8; Curtius Rufus, X, 10, 20; Pausanias, I,VI, 23 e I, VII, 2; IG, XII (5), p. 109, n. 444.

(8) Diodorus Siculus, XVIII, 28, 4; Strabo,XVII,1,8; Curtius Rufus, X, 10, 20; Pseudo Callisthenes, III, 34, 1.

(9) Pausanias, I, XVII,2.

(10) Strabo, XVII, 1, 6-8.

(11) Cfr. Adriani, Repertorio, pp. 242-245.

(12) Lucanus, Fars., VIII, 694 ss.; X, 19.

(13) Thiersch, in JdI, 15, 1910, p. 55 ss.

(14) For many famous visitors (Augustus, Caligola, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla) : Suetonius, Aug., 18; Calig., 52; Flavius Josephus, contra Ap., II, 57; Dion Cassius, L1, 16; LXXV, 13; Herodian, IV, 8, 9; Suda, s.v. Antoninos. The destruction of sema comes before the second half of IV Cent. A.D. when St. JohnChrysostom claim in his Omelia, XXVI, 5: "Tell

me, where the sema of Alexander is ?" (J.P. Migne, Patr. Graeca, LXI, Paris 1862, Ioann. Chrys. X., col. 581).

(15) Lucanus, Fars., VIII,694 ss.; X,19.

(16) Strabo,XVII,1,8; Zenobius, 94; Achilles Tatius, V,1ss.

(17) Fraser, Ptol. Alexandria, I, P.3 ss.; II, PP. 1-111 Passim; III, p.71 (S.V. Sema).

(18) Adriani, Repertorio, P. 235; F. El Fakharani, in Stmisc, 28, 1991, p. 21 ss.

(19) Mahmoud Bey el-Falaki, Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie, Copenhague 1872.

(20) Zenobius, III, 94.

(21) F. Noack, in AM, 25, 1900, P. 215 ss.; Adriani, Repertorio, PP. 23 ss., 73 (n. 27).

(22) Adriani, Repertorio, P.244.

(23) Searchs and excavations under the mosque of Naby Daniel : K. Michalowski, in Alexandria University, Bull. Of hte Fac. Of Arts, 12, 1958, p. 37 ss.; L.Dabrowski, ibid., 14, 1960. P.39 ss. See also. Breccia, Le Musé Gréco-Romain 1925-1931, Bergamo 1942, PP. 48-52.

(24) W. Hoepfner, in Akten XIII. Inter. Komgress Klass. Archaeologie, Berlin 1988, Mainz am Rhein 1990, P. 275 ss., Abb.2 Z. Kiss, in Actes XIV Congrés Inter. Arqueologia Cláss., Tarragona 1993, I, Tarragona 1994 P. 261 ss., Fig. 1; W.A. Daszewski, in CraI, Avril-Juin 1994, p. 423 ss.; Tzalas, in Graeco-Arabica, V, 1993, P. 329 ss.

(25) Ibn Abd El-Hakam, Futuh el Misr (ed. Torrey), New Haven 1922, P. 4.

(26) Cfr. Adriani, La Tomba di Alessandro, Cit, P. 000; Bonacasa, in Stmisc, 28, 1991, P. 18, nota 27.

(27) M. Rodziewicz, Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie (Alexandrie III), Varsovie 1984, PP. 12 ss., 28-31, 54, 57, 58, 116; in Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano (Atti II Congr. Inter. Italo-Egiziano, Alessandria 1992), Roma 1995, P.227 ss.; F. El Fakharani, in Alexandria University, Bull. of the Fac. of Arts, 18, 1964, PP. 190-191.

(28) Bernhard, in RA, 47, 1956, PP. 137, 152 ss.

(29) Breccia, Rapport du muée Gréco-Romain 1907, P.7; Id; in Bsocarchal, 10 , 1908, P. 230; Id., Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, Bergamo 1914, P.88 e Bergami 1922, P. 102; Id., Rapport du Mus. Gr. Rom. 1919-1920, PP. 70-71, tav. XI.

(30) Adriani, Ann. du Mus. Rom. 1935-1939, Cit., PP. 15-23.

(31) Adriani, ibid, PP. 15-16, fig. 1; Id., Repertorio, P. 140 ss. (n.89).

(32) Adriani, La nécropole de Moustafa Pacha, Ann. du Mus Gr. Rom. 1933-1935, Alexandrie 1936, PP. 45 ss., 71 ss., Id., Repertorio, PP. 28-33, 124. 128 s., 138 s., 141, 146 s., 170, 188, 192 s., 194, 195s., 157.

(33) Adriani, Ann. du mus. Gr. Rom. 1935-1935, cit, P.92; Id., Repertorio, p. 134 ss. (n. 85).

(34) Appianus, II, 90. Cfr. Breccia, supra, nota 4.

(35) Adriani, Ann. du Mus. Gr. -Rom. 1935-1939, cit., pp. 22-23; Id., epertorio, pp. 142, 230. Cfr. Calderini, Dizionario, cit., I. 1, p. 132.

(36) Adriani, Ipotesi ardite e meno ardite sulla tomba di Alessandro Magno, March 1962, during the two lectures, Alexandria and Cairo, and the public national meeting, Accademia dei Lincei, Rome May 8, 1971. Now in his volume, La tomba di Alessandro, cit, p. ooo.

(37) Adriani, Ann. du Mus. Gr.-Romm. 1933-1935, cit., p. 113 ss., figg. 50, 55-56, tav. XIV; Id., Ann. du Mus. Gr.-Rom. 1940-1950, Alexandrie 1952, p. 61 ss., 87

ss., tavv. XXXVI,1; XXXIX, 1; XL,1; Id., Repertorio, pp. 192 ss. (n. 142), 195 ss. (n. 145).

(38) Cfr. Ph. Petsas, O táphos tón Lefkadion, Atene 1966; Id., in Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano (Studi in on. di A. Adriani), III, Roma 1984, p. 744 ss.; M. Andronikos, Verghina I, Atene 1969; B. Gossel, Makedonische Kammergraeber, Berlin 1980; S.G. Miller, Macedonians Tombs, Washington D.C. 1982 e 1993; M. Andronikos, Vergina, the Royal Tombs, Athens 1984; H. Lauter, Die Architektur des Hellenismus, Darmstadt 1986, pp. 220-221.

(39) Adriani, Ann. du Mus. Gr.-Rom. 1933-35, cit., pp. 15 ss., 53 ss.; Id., Repertorio, pp. 124-127, 130 ss., 135 ss.

(40) J.G. Miller, The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles. A painted Macedonian Tomb, Mainz am Rhein 1993, pp. 106 (2A), 107 (4I), 108 (10A), 112 (28A).

(41) Breccia, Rapport du Mus. Gr.-Rom. 1919-1920, cit, p. 70 ss.

(42) Fr. Poulsen, in from the Collect. of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, II, 1938, p.4.

(43) CIL, VIII, 8934; XIII, 1808. Cfr. Calderini, Dizionario, p. 150.

Macedonian Presence in Alexandria

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MACEDONIAN PRESENCE IN ALEXANDRIA

New surroundings give to settlers the opportunity for new creations and Alexandria could not be an exception to that. In dealing with the Hellenistic period one is aware that the Macedonians and the other Greeks who came to settle in Alexandria had already many things in common without however having lost yet their special local characteristic. Thus the settlement of Macedonians in Egypt and in Alexandria can be traced in various ways which[1]. I will try to sketch here.

Initially there are two approaches for the examination of their presence in the population. The use of the ethnic Makedwv is the first one, which certainly in the early attestations, especially those from Alexandria, had a more realistic content than it had later for the settlers of the Fayum. A safer indication than the ethnic is the existence of Macedonian personal names attested even after the first two centuries from the time of their

owners arrival, as the analysis of the onomasticon shows. It is essential to point out here that some of the names considered by the specialists as typically Macedonian are known only from their attestations in Egypt, for example the names Βιλιστιξη and ΑοΒιοζ and others; (2) in addition to that many well known Macedonian names, such as Βαλακποζ , Μαχαταζ and ιλωταζ , to mention only a few, have been preserved in inscriptions found in Alexandria with or without the use of the ethnic. (3) Dozens of other well known Macedonian names are preserved in Egyptian papyri, to mention only some of those starting with letter A:Απυνταζ, Αρπαλοζ, Αρριδαιοξ, Ατταλοζ.(4) Since on the other hand we know that many Macedonians had common Greek names without any local characteristics, (5) it is reasonable to reach the conclusion that a substantial part among the holders of names belonging to this category were also of Macedonian descent, a conclusion that can be reinforced by considering the other factors that we will discuss next.

Many Macedonian prototypes can be traced in the institutions, the administration and even more in the organisation of the Ptolemaic court as it can be studied on the basis of the works of P.M. Fraser and R. Bagnal;(6) the analogies observed can support a better understanding of the archetype that is often less explicity documented. The role of the Macedonian household troops in the approving of the new sovereign, the Friends and the First Friends of the king, the bodyguards, the employment of the term επιστατπζ for defining the governor of a city with civil authority in the Ptolemaic administration, (7) are all features very much characteristic of the Macedonia administration, as known by the historians of Alexander or as attested in inscriptions found in Macedonian. (8) For the Macedonian court the royal envoys abroad were naturally members of the aristocracy including persons of the family of the king, as can be observed in an early source, the treaty of Perdikkas II with the Athenians. (9) In these relatives of the Macedonian kings most probably originates the term συγγενηζ, used often by Ptolemaic envoys abroad; (10) the other definition used:των πρωτων φιλων (among the First Friends) of

the king, is also a well documented feature of the royal administration of Macedonia. (11)

Some religious features, not very common in the rest of the Greek world, can also be traced in Macedonia. Heracles' very important place in Macedonia is widely attested; his worship is accompanied with many different epithets, as inscriptional and literary sources show. (12) One of them is for Heracles Kallinikos, attested only once in Beroea,(13) a city that lies in the heart of the Macedonian kingdom. A dedication to this god with the same epithet constitutes the only epithet of Heracles epigraphically attested in Egypt and most probably comes from Alexandria.(14)

Another cult, not very common in the rest of the Greek world, is that of θεα καλη, attested only once in Macedonia, in the town of Lete; it has been recently published and discussed by M.B. Hatzopoulos, which associated her with the cult of Demeter and kore and the rites of Passage for young girls.(15) The same godess, θεα καλη, is also attested once in Alexandria. (16)

Certainly it is not only in those rare but characteristic examples, just mentioned, where the Macedonian presence can be traced. The Argeads claim to Heraclid ancestry, a claim that was later embraced also by the Antigonids, (17) found an early imitation by the Ptolemies, who, in order to establish their relationship to the Argead house, made up a descent from Dionysos and his son-in-law Heracles. (18) Ancestry of the Argeads from Dionysos is mentioned by Plutarch, in the work On the fortune or the virtue of Alexander, where in the discussion of the king with the philosopher Diogenes he asks from him to be forgiven for imitating Heracles ... and "follow in the footsteps of Dionysos, the divine author and progenitor of my family". (19) The dominant place of Dionysos in Macedonian life is testified by numerous literary references, to mention only the descriptions by Arrian of several sacrifices to him, (20) the notice that there was a day kept sacred to Dionysos by the Macedonians and that Alexander used to sacrifice to him yearly on that day and also the description of Alexander's arrival in the town of India called Nysa, a foundation of Dionysos. (21) The dominant presence of Dionysos in

Alexandria is best seen in the procession of Ptolemy Philadephos which contain many important elements that allow us to suppose a very close connection with Macedonia. This text of Kallixeinos preserved by Athenaeus in the fifth book of the Deipnosophistai, translated and thoroughly discussed by E.E. Rice,[22] gives very important information and allows for a new way of looking at and interpreting the contents of some Macedonian tombs. The text that is excerpted from a more extended work by Kallixeinos called About Alexandria, describes for its greater part the procession of Dionysos and his followers.[23] The richness of the objects, wreaths and colossal statues in this procession can be paralleled with the three day triumph of Aemilius Paulus, adorned with what he had carried to Rome from Macedonia, as described by Plutarch.[24] But the actual description, the followers of Dionysos and some of the objects carried by them can be recognised in many features of the objects and decorations found in the large royal tomb of Aegeae (modern Vergina), that the excavator M. Andronikos believed to be Philip's tomb.[25] On reading this extraordinary text one should naturally ignore the

exaggeration in the size of the objects mentioned, as e.g. the nine feet tall altars and the equally huge thymiateria (incense burners), or a silver krater holding 600 measures. (26) Other objects, mostly of gigantic size, that appeared in large numbers in the Alexandria procession and can be seen among the Vergina finds in more moderate sizes include oinochoai and phialai, basins and araters, all objects connected with drinking and mixing of wine, all objects suitable for symposia. (27) Almost everything in this royal tomb is connected with Dionysis and his cult. Satyrs and Silenoi decorate most of the objects and Dionysos himself is represented in an ivory plague. (28) Other objects mentioned in the procession include tripods, golden crowns of ivy worn by the statues of Alexander and Ptolemaios I Soter and a golden crown of olive worn by the statue of Arete, all finding a material from in the finds of Vergina and also those of other Macedonian tombs. (29) Thymiateria can be recognised, as I believed, in the lantern, as the excavator interpreted it, found in the same Vergina tomb. (30) Participants in the procession were also, according to the same text, Macedonian women called Mimallones, Bassarai and Lydai, explained as Maenads,

described as having hair streaming loose and some holding daggers in their hands, others snakes; [31] they are also illustrated in Macedonian funerary finds and primarily on the Derveni krater. [32] The features connected with the cult of Dionysos have made their appearance not only in Vergina, where their presence is overpowering, but also at other sites where Macedonian tombs were excavated. One cannot forget the relationship of Dionysos to Orpheus and the Underworld, which is so eloquently demonstrated in another funerary find, that of the unique Derveni krater. [33] The pyre of another Derveni tomb contained an also unique find, for Greece, a papyrus with an Orphic text; [34] inside the same tomb a gilded thymiaterion similar to the one of Vergina was found. [35]

Another feature close to the Macedonian originals, but in general of lower quality, is the painting preserved in funeral monuments of Alexandria. [36] The recent discoveries in Macedonia have revolutionised our knowlege of ancient painting, and now the origin of these Alexandria creations can be more easily traced than at the time of their publication. In the funerary

architecture, features such as false doors and windows and funerary klinai, [37] also point the same cultural background and reinforces our belief that many Macedonians came and worked in Alexandria from the start, besides the eponymous architect of the city Deinokrates. That the architect, who was ordered by Alexander to lay out the plans of a city in his name, was a Macedonian, is an information of Virtruvius; another source, PsCallisthenes, calls him Rhodian. [39]

We will conclude with an area in which the contribution of the Alexandrian literary achievement is in particular recognised: the creation of the epigram.[39] We should not underestimate the fact that one of the most famous Alexandrian epigrammatists, the man who lived at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphos and composed the poem designed to celebrate most probably the erection, of the Pharos, was the Macedonian Poseidippos from Pella. [40] It seems that it is no coincidence that although most of their works are lost we know of many Macedonians who contributed to this and other related fields of poetic creation as e.g. epic and tragic poetry. Epigrams inscribed on

Macedonian funerary monuments are quite numerous; the earliest comes from Pella and is dated in the first half of the 4th century B.C.; (41) next are the epigrams from Vergina that are dated as early as the second half of the 4th century B.C. (42)

Macedonian Presence in Alexandria

NOTES

* The following references support indicatively the presentation of the subject that was not intended to be exhaustive.

1- See the discussion of the ethnic by P.M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria (Oxford 1972) I 49-50, 53-54, 58, 63, particularly 80, 129, 22-23.

2- I. Russu, "Macedonica. Osservazioni sull lingue e l'etnografia degli antichi Mcedoni, "EphDac 8 (1938) 180, 199. 0. Masson "sur le nom de Bilistiche, favorite de ptolemee II, "studia in honorem 1.Kajanto (1985) 109-112 = Onomastica Graeca Selecta II 467-70.

3- E. Breccia, Catalogue general des antiquites egyptiennes du Muss d ´ Alexandrie: Isrizioni Greche e Latine (Cairo 1911, repr. 1976) index.

4- On the basis of F. Preisigke, Namenbuch (Amsterdam 1967).

5- As has been concluded in recent studies: Argyro B. Tataki, Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and

Society (Meletemata 8; Athens 1988) 334, 339, 415, 449.

6- P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. 1, I 93-131; R. Bagnal, The Administration of Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt (Leiden 1976).

7- P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. 1, I 69, 80, 100, 102-104, 118, 129-30.

8- Discussed by M.B. Hatzopoulos, Macedonian Institutions under the Kings (Meletemata; Athens 1996 forthcoming).

9- IG I, 31, 89.

10- P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. I 103, II 187n. 74; L. Mooren, The aulic titulatture in Ptolemaic Egypt (Brussels 1975) 232-44 nos 00198-00349.

11- L. Mooren, ibid. supra n. 10, 226-32 nos 00124-197; for Macedonia see Sylvie Le Bohec, "Les Philoi des rois Antigonides," REG 98 (1985) 93-124, in particular pp. 118-19. On the First Friends of Perseus see Polyb. XXIX 3, 3; Livy XLII 39, 7; XLIV 23, 2, 45, 2.

12- W. Baege, De Macedonum Sacris (Halle 1913) 184-198; Ch.F. Edson, "The Antigonids, Heracles

and Beroea," HSCP 45 (1934) 213-46. See also G. Bakalakis, M. Andronikos, Deltion 25 (1970) B 394 and M. Andronikos, Vergina: the Royal Tombs and the Ancient City (Athens 1984) 38, 42, 226 for Heracles Patroos.

13- M.G. Demitsas, E Makedonia en lithois phthegomenois kaimnemeiois sozomenois (Athens 1896), repr. title: Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarum Macedoniae (Chicago 1980) nos 18 and 291; W. Baege, ibid. supra n. 12, 141; A.B.Tataki, ibid., supra n. 5, 243 no 1000.

14- OGIS 53; P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. 1, I 195; for other attestations of Heracles with the same epithet see Giulia Ronchi, Lexicon theonymon rerumque-sacrarum et divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium quae in papyris ostracis titulis Graecis Latinisque in Aegypto repertis laudantur III 568.

15 - M.B. Hatzopoulos, Cultes et rites de passage en Macedoine (Meletemata 19; Athens 1994) 44, 49-50.

16 - E. Breccia, ibid. supra n. 3, 372-73 no 117.

17 - Ch. F. Edson, ibid. supra n. 12.

18- W.W. Tarn, "The Lineage of Ptolemy I," JHS 53 (1933) 57-61; P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. 1, I 44-45, 202-203, 208.

19- Plutarch, Mor. 332A-B.

20- Arrian, Anab. IV 9, 5. Cf. J.P. Correge, Le cultes de Dionysos en Macedoine (Paris 1992, M.A. Thesis, unpublished) 97-99. See also M.B. Hatzopoulos, ibid. supra n. 15, 63-85 for the discussion of the most recent epigraphical attestations on the cult of Dionysos in Macedonia.

21- Arrian, Anab. IV 8, 1; V1, 1.

22- Athen. 197C-203B = FGH 627 F2; E.E Rice, The Grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Oxford 1983).

23- Athen. 197E- 202A.

24- Plutarch, Aem. 32, 4-34.

25- M.Andronikos, Vergina : the Royal Tombs and the Ancient City (Athens 1984).

26- Athen. 197E, 197F, 198B.

27- Athen. 198B, 198D, 199C, compared to M. Andronikos, ibid. surpa n. 25, 145-158 and figs

104-107, 109-14, 115.

28- M. Andronikos, ibid. supra n. 25, figs 90, 114-16.

29- See the tripod from Philip's tombs : M. Andronikos, ibid. supra n. 25. A golden crown of ivy found in a tomb in Pieria (now in the Archaeological Museum of Dion) is illustrated in the catalogue of the archaeological exhibition in Montreal entitled : Greek Civilisation : Macedonia the Kingdom of Alexander the Great (Athens 1993) 233 fig. 276. From the golden crowns of olive see the one found in Derveni (now in the Archaeological Museum of Thesalonike), illustrated in the catalogue of the archaeological exhibition in Melbourne entitled : Ancient Macedonia (Athens 1988) 287 fig. 236.

30- M.Andronikos, ibid., supra n. 25, 162-63 figs 130-31.

31- Athen. 198E; see the discussion by E.E. Rice, ibid, supra n. 22, 61-62.

32- E. Giouri, O krater tou Derveniou (Athens 1978); illustrated in many publication, see e.g. M.B. Sakellariou (ed.), Mcedonia : 4000 years of Greek History and Civilization (Athens 1983) 106-108 figs 71-73.

33- Ibid. supra n. 32.

34- M.L. West, The Orphic Poems (Oxford 1983) 68-115; published originally by St. Kapsomenos, Deltion 19 (1964) A 17-25 pls 12-15; Cf. ZPE 47 (1982) 1-12.

35- Ch. Makaronas, Deltion 18 (1963) B 193 pl. 225 b; illustrated also in the catalogue of the archaeological exhibition in Melbourne entitled; Ancient Macedonia (Athens 1988) 283 fig. 232.

36- Blanche R. Brown, Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandria style (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1957); A. Gazal, Graptai Stelai tes Ellenistikikes Alexandreias (Athens 1964).

37- For Alexandrian false doors see B. R. Brown, ibid., supra n. 36, 34, 86 and bibliography; on klinai see I. Noshy, The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt (London 1937) 22-23, 143. For Macedonia see the discussion by Ph. Petsas, O taphos ton Leukadion (Athens 1966) 72 and n. 2, 77 and n. 2 and M. Andronikos, "The Macedonian Tombs" in R. Ginouves, M.B. Hatzopoulos (eds), Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest 154-61; id., Vergina, the Royal Tombs and the Ancient City

(Athans 1984) 31, 32, 35, 122, 123, 219.

38- Vitruv. II 1-4; PasCallisth. I 31; E. Fabricius, RE IV (1901) 2392-93 no 6.

39- P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. 1, I 553-617, II 791-869.

40- W. Peek, RE XXII (1953) 428-46 no 3; P.M. Fraser, ibid. supra n. 39; he was one of the Macedonians honoured with proxenia in Thermon: IG IX 12 117 line 24.

41- SEG 27 (1977) 298.

42- Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Ta epitaphia apo ten Megale Toumpa tes Verginas, Epeteris tes Philosophikes Sholes tou Aristoteleiou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes Suppl. no 50 (Thessalonike 1984) no 3 p. 44, no 6 p. 79, no 22 p. 168.

The City of Helice
A Part of a Sunken Greek History

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The City of Helice

A Part of a Sunken Greek History

Si quaeras Helicen et Burdn
Achaidas urbes, invenies sub
aquis et adhuc ostendere nautae.
Ovid, Met., XV. 293 - 4 *.

The present paper aims at relocating the site of the drowned city of Helice to the north of the Peloponnesian Peninsula on the Gulf of Corinth, depending on contemporary and later sources : Heraclides, Pausanias, Strabo and other historians and geographers.

The paper was presented at the Alexandrian Second International Conference on " Cultural Interaction among Mediterranean Peoples " : "Alexander the Great and Alexandria " , held between the 15th and the 19th of January 1996.

During the discussion which followed, Prof. Lilian Yannacopoulos, of the Department of Arechaeology and History of Arts, University of Athens, referred to the

* " If you look for Helice and Buris,
Once cities of Achaea, you will
find them beneath the waters".
Bura was one of the twelve cities of Achaea,
Pausanian (VII.XXV. 8 - 9) says that :" when the God wiped off Helice from the face of the earth, Bura too suffered a severe earthquake". I will focus of Helice because of its importance as a well known center for Heliconian Poseidon and the Achaean league.

mission of underwater Archaeologists, relating to the said department, which had been excavating the coast to the east of the new city of Aegium (Summer season, 1995), looking for the ruins of Helice, but with negative results .

The researcher's reply was that , in the light of the present study of the sources and of the topographical analysis of the data presented through them, it might contribute towards locating the drowned city, to excavate the coast 8kms. to the east of Aegium .

The story of Helice's fate is only an instance of a general phenomenon comprising many others in many countries and civilizations : for example, the city of Callao in Peru, the city of Goa in India, the city of Is in Breton to the north west of France, and the very celeberated legendry Atlantis. (1)

One of those drowned cities is the city of Helice to the north of the Peloponnese Peninsula of the gulf of Corinth .

(1) It is in Plato's Timaeus and Critias that the story of Atlantis-whatever its historical origin - first makes its appearance in literature .
Cf. Plato, Timaeus and Critias, Appendix on Atlantis, Penguin 1971, PP. 144 - 165 .
Cf. Also : James Bramwell, Lost Atlantis, London , 1937 .
Ignatius Donelly , Atlantis : The Antediluvian World , New York , 1949.
J.V. Luce, The End of Atlantis, Thames and Hudson 1969 .
J. Gwynn Griffiths, Atlantis and Egypt , Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1991 .

Helice was first mentioned by Homer in the Iliad[1], when he asserted that God Poseidon was the lord of Helice[2].

The city was well known with its holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon,[3] and by being the center of the twelve cities which formed the Achaean League,[4] but after its disaster it was replaced by the city of Aegium as a new center of the league.[5]

Now the question that arises here is - I think - what kind of disaster Helice suffered, and how it vanished in such a terrible catastrophe. I will quote Pausanias our main source about the disaster of Helice, Pausanias says in his full description of the matter :

(1) Homer, Il., II. 575; VIII. 203; XX. 404.

(2) As for the legendry foundation of the city, Pausanias said that Ion founded the city and called it Helice after his wife, and called the inhabitants Ionians after himself. Cf. Pausanias, VII. I.4 ; VII. I.8.

in : Pausanias, Description of Greece, with an English translation by W.H.S.Jones, Loeb, 1931.

(3) Paus., VII. XXIV. 5.

(4) The twelve cities-according to Paus. - were :

Dyme, the nearest to Elis, after it Olenus, Pharae, Triteia, Rhypes, Aegium, Ceryneia, Bura, Helice and also Aegae, Aegeira and Pellene, the last city on the side of Sicyonia.

Cf. Paus., VII. VI. I.

Lists of those cities are also given by Herodotus (I.145), Polybius (II.41), and Strabo (VIII. 385 Sq.), Concerning most of the cities, the lists of Herodotus and Strabo are the same, but they differ from the lists of Polybius and Pausanias, Helice is always the same in the four ancient sources. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Pausanias, Description of Greece, Macmillan, London 1913, PP.130-131.

(5) Paus., VII. VII. 2.

" Forty stades away from Aegium is a place on the sea called Helice, where the Ionians had a very holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. Their worship of Heliconian Poseidon has remained, even after their expulsion by the Achaeans to Athens, and subsequently from Athens to the coast of Asia..... But later on the Achaeans of the place removed some suppliants from the sanctuary and killed them.

But the wrath of Poseidon visited them without delay; an earthquake promptly struck their land and swallowed it up, without leaving a trace for posterity to see, both the buildings and the very site on which the city stood. "(1)

Pausanias continues describing the disaster which the city of Helice suffered :

" This was the type of earthquake, they say, that on the occasion refferred to levelled Helice to the ground, and that it was accompanied by another disaster in the season of winter. The sea flooded a great part of the land and covered up the whole of Helice all round.

Moreover, the tide was so deep in the grove of Poseidon that only the tops of the trees remained visible.

(1) Paus., VII. XXIV. 5-6, 12.

What with the sudden earthquake,[1] and the invasion of the sea that accompanied it, the tidal wave swallowed up Helice and every man in it.[2]

According to the testimony of a contemporary historian, Heraclides Ponticus, the destruction of Helice took place on a winter night, two years before the battle of leuctra[3], which means that the catastroph happened in the year 373 B.C., the city was situated a mile and a half from the sea, and all this intermediate space, along with the city itself, vanished under the water.

Two Thousand Achaeans were sent to bury the dead - as Pausanias says [4]- but they could find none.[5]

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(1) Earthquakes are common in Greece, Aegium the nearst neighbour of Helice, has repeatedly suffered from severe earthquakes, notably in 23 A.D. (Cf. Tacitus, Ann., IV. 13), and in the modern history on the years 1817, 1861, and 1888, the earthquake of 1888 is said to have almost destroyed the city, but it was quickly rebuilt.
Cf. Frazer, Op.Cit., P.166.

(2) Paus., VII. XXIV. 11-12.
The great wave of the sea which accompanied the earthquake at Helice is mentioned also by Aristotle.
Aristot., Meteor., I. 6. 343 b. 2 Sq.; II.8.368 b.8.

(3) Strabo, Geog., VIII. 384. 2.

(4) Paus., VII. XXIV. 6. CF. Frazer, Op.Cit., P.165.

(5) Maybe this is the reason why we never heared of Helice thenafter, because Strabo says that : " The two thousand men who were sent to bury the dead found nothing, so they divided the territory of Helice among the neighbours".
CF. Strabo, Geog., VIII. 384. 2.
Pausanias add that : " as none of the people of Helice were left alive, the land is occupied by the people of Aegium".
Paus., VII. XXV.4.

Eratosthenes the Alexandrian scientist, who visited the site many years later , was told by sailors that the bronze statue of Poseidon was standing underwater and formed a dangerous shoal.(1)

Pliny and Ovid assert that the ruins of Helice were visible under the sea.(2)

In the second century A.D. Pausanias the geographer said that the ruins of Helice are visible, but not as plainly now as they were once, because they are corroded by the salt water.(3)

The testimonies of Eratosthenes, Pliny and Ovid, that the ruins of Helice were visible clearly under water suggest that water in that area was not so deep.

With reference to Pausanias statement that the ruins of Helice were visible but not as plainly as before because of the salt water, one way suggest here that those ruins took more than five hundred years to disappear, but not because of the salt water as Pausanias says but because of many

(1) Strabo, Geog., VIII. 384 sq.
Cf. Diod. Sicul., XV. 49.
Aelian, Nat. Anim., XI. 19.
Seneca, Natur. Quaest., VI. 32, 26; VII. 5, 16.
(2) Pliny, Nat. Hist., II. 206.
Ovid, Met., XV. 293-94.
(3) Paus., VII. XXIV. 12.

factors such as among other things, sea plants, mud, green moss, sea weed and slugs.

Now the city of Helice was situated - according to Pausanias(1) - forty stads (nearly 8 kms.) to the east of the ancient city of Aegium.

The ancient city of Aegium is located on maps - according to ancient sources - as follows :

- Longitude line : 22° 5' 33" to the east.

- Latitude line : 38° 14' 53" to the north.(2)

The new city of Aegium is located as follows :

- Longitude line : 22° 4' 06" to the east.

- Latitude line : 38° 13' 33" to the north.(3)

And since the difference between the location of the ancient and the new cities is approximatly a " minute", which is about 1850 meters, I may suggest that the new city of Aegium is located on the ancient city with some slight extension to the east and west.

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(1) Pausanias in his description of the cities of Achaea was moving from west to east.

(2) Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography, London, 1948, P.37. Cf. Richard Talbert, Atlas of Classical History, Croom Helm, London 1985, P.29.

(3) Le Guide Bleu, Grece, Hachette, Paris, 1977.

The city of Helice is located on maps - according to ancient sources - as follows :

- Longitude line : 22° 9' 16" to the east.

- Latitude line : 38° 12' 27" to the north .[1]

The difference between the supposed location of Helice and the location of the new city of Aegium is less than "five minutes" which is about eight km. or less, and this calculation makes the statment of Pausanias almost a certainty.

Having in mind the extension of the new city of Aegium, I may conclude that the ruins of Helice are lying under water less than 8km. to the east of the city of Aegium.

Finally I would like to add that a whole city with its temples, statues, houses, and maybe the skeletons of its inhabitants is lying under water waiting for someone to uncover the coffin that is wrapping her .

(1) Richard Talbert, Op.Cit., P.29; Cf. Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography, P.37.

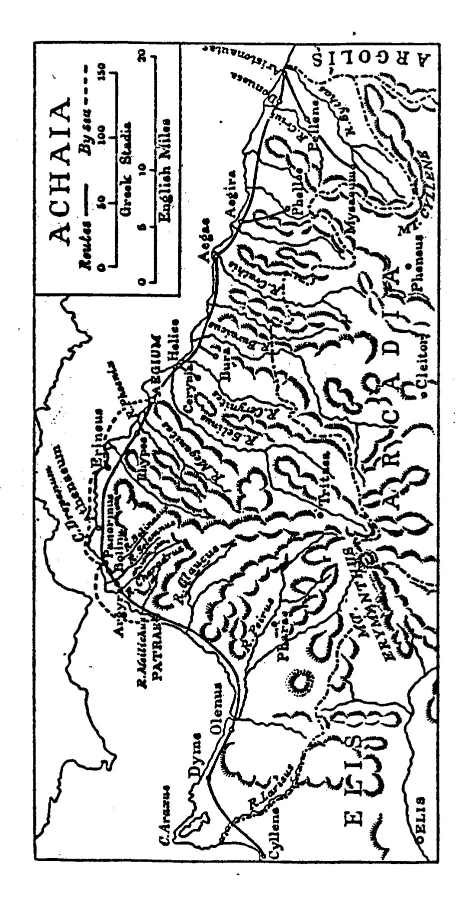


Fig. (1)
The Twelve Cities of Achaea Including Helice
after : Pausanias, Loeb, P.13.

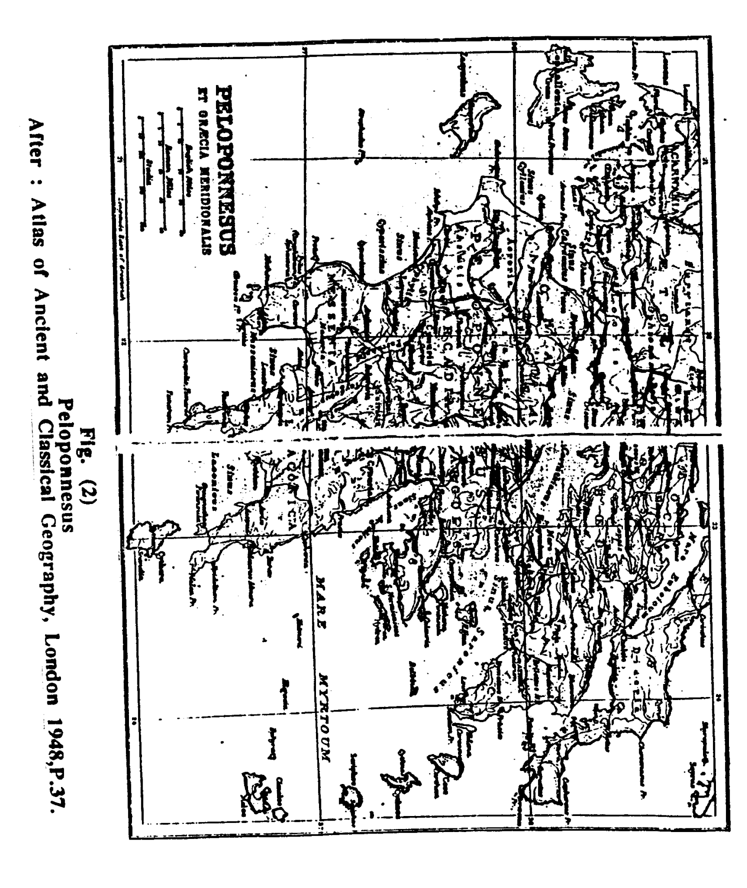


Fig. (2)
Peloponnesus
After : Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography, London 1948,P.37.

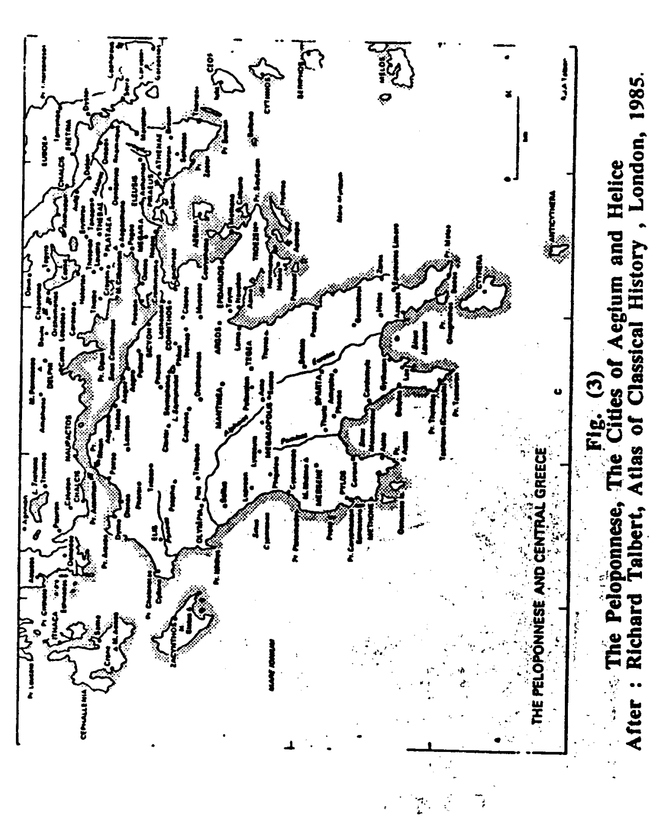


Fig. (3)
The Peloponnese, The Cities of Aegium and Helice
After : Richard Talbert, Atlas of Classical History , London, 1985.

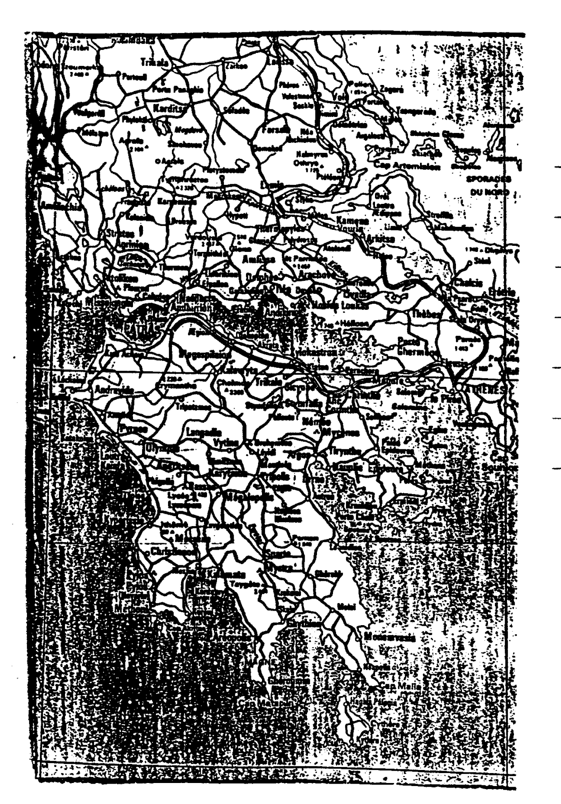


Fig. (4)
Le Guide Bleu, Grece, Hachette, Paris, 1977 .

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Alexandrian Implications In Tibullus I.1

Magda A. El-Nowieemy



Alexandrian Implications

In Tibullus I.1

Magda A. El-Nowieemy

The Augustan poet Tibullus was one of those Roman poets who fell under the influence of Alexandria. In my present paper I shall be concerned with Tabullus' first poem. My starting point will be that it is supposed to be a programmatic poem. But my reading suggests that it is only in a limited sense.

Great importance is always attached to an introductory poem of any poet. It is expected that Tibullus provides in I.1 a poetic program for the whole work or at least for his first book of elegies. The study of Tibullus I.1 leads -to a great extent- to a clearer understanding or the poems which follow. This poem is expected to set the tone of his work especially in the way Tibullus employs the elegiac conventions in combination with some outstanding Alexandrian characteristics.

I shall consider the Alexandrian implications in I.1, through considering the structure of the poem and sequence of Tibullus' thought. The poem falls into two main sections:

1- (1-44) the countryside with both its poverty and simplicity versus wealth and military action.

2- (45-78) love and elegiac conventions as set against wealth, military action and renown.

Tibullus begins the poem by rejecting wealth (divitias) of yellow gold (fulvo ... auro) and rejecting the sounding of the war-trumpets (martia ... classica pulsa) [1]:

Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro

et teneat culti iugera multa soli,

quem labor adsiduus vicino terreat hoste,

Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent.

(1-4)

Then he mentions his own preference, which gives him personal freedom. His poverty is to bring him an inactive life [2]:

me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti,

(5)

Tibullus contents himself with a humble life-style (contentus vivere parvo, 25), and rejects once more long

marches (longae ... viae,26). He aspires to the modest and simple routine of the farmer in the countryside, describing the rustic work which he is going to undertake (7ff.) as a true countryman "rusticus" (8), an alternative to the military action.

We know that urban life in the Hellenistic world with its large cities caused a longing for the quiet and beautiful country life. This, in turn, excited a tendency for expressing the simple and the rustic in Alexanrian literature. For example, the Alexandrian writer Callimachus (3), quite in the Alexandrian manner, when he wrote his famous epyllion "*Hecale*", laid emphasis, not on Theseus' heroic deeds, but on the simple and realisttic details of the ordinary and everyday life of poor Hecale (4). Callimachus does the same in his victory ode for Queen Berenike (*Victoria Berenices*) in which he focuses on Hercules' visit to the humble peasant Molorchus and the latter's invention of a new kind of mouse-trap (5). This outstanding literary characteristic of the Alexandrians reappeared in some of their Roman successors, Tibullus was one of those, and his first elegy is a case in point.

We should keep in mind that Tibullus was the only

Roman elegiac poet who joined military service. We know from his poetry that he accompanied his patron Messalla on several military campaigns [6] So when Tibullus rejects war he speaks from a personal experience. and when he rejects wealth and accepts poverty, he connects himself with the Alexanrian literary conventions [7]

Throughout the first half of the poem, Tibullus re-emphasizes his poverty and the modesty of his farm [8]. Modesty is its outstanding characteristic, as well as of his sacrifice and his flock. He addresses the lares, the tutelary gods who watch over his farm which is now poor, but was once thriving, asking them to accept his offerings:

> Vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri
>
> custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares.
>
> (19-20)

In those days a slaughtered heifer was a peace offering for his countless cattle.

Now a lamb is the little sacrifice of his small land:

> tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuvencos:
> nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli.
>
> (21-22)

Tibullus asks thieves and wolves to have mercy on his scanty flocks:

at vos exiguo pecori, furesque lupique,
parcite:

(33-34)

When appealing to the gods to be with him, he asks them not to despise gifts from a poor table:

adsitis, divi, neu vos e paupere mensa
dona .... spernite ....

(37-38)

This modest way of life is either a literary topos [9] or it is historically true that his farm was diminished in the famous confiscations of 42 B.C., to provide settlements for soldiers [10]. Perhaps his circumstances suited his poetic program. So poverty and simplicity as Alexanrian features are related to the theme of Tibullus' love of the countryside[11], which occurs repeatedly in his poetry [12].

Tibullus shows an interest in the piety of the countryside, reverence for the gods, rural cults and performance of rites.[13] His worship is explicitly professed: (nam veneror, 11)

The first product of his farm is placed as an offering

before the god of the countryside:

libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.

(14)

Tibullus appeals to the rural deities to do their part: yellow-haired Ceres (flava Ceres, 15), Priapus, the god of gardens who is the watch (custos, 17f.), the tutelary gods of the farm (custodes ... Lares, 20). He offers sacrifices to the gods to secure their protection for his herd (21f.). He appeases Pales too, the goddess of shepherds (35f.). Finally Tibullus asks the gods in general to be with him (37).

Tibullus' concern for crops and flocks reflect a genuine Roman spirit. In this respect, one may wonder whether Tibullus was inspired mainly by Virgil's *Georgics* to write about the countryside [14], or only by the Hellenistic tendency towards it and the Alexandrian enthusiasm for expressing poverty and simplicity.

Both Virgil and Tibullus show enthusiasm for the countryside, but Tibullus' enthusiasm is free from the political motivation that is present in Virgil's poerty [15], and consequently the two poets differ in their approach. Tibullus presents himself as a man of peace and a lover of the countryside, which may suggest Roman moral

dimensions. But did Tibullus choose the countryside because of its moral qualities? In other words, did he admire and aspire to the moral status of the traditional Italian farmer? To live in the countryside is Tibullus' vision of idealized life, and the logical result of Tibullus' social position as a descendant of an equestrian land-holding family. But unlike Virgil, Tibullus' concerns are not didactic. Rather, he takes personal delight in rural simplicity, and has a personal conception of happiness. So when Tibullus chooses the life of the farmer it is only to achieve his own individual happiness, and here too he was inspired by Alexandrian literature [16].

So far in this poem, all we know of Tibullus is that he is an ex-soldier who desires to become a farmer. Let us consider the movement of Tibullus' ideas in the second part of the poem which he combines so el orately that he succeeds to achieve unity of feeling [1 Tibullus' poetic program, up to this point, looks to rustic life, later on he thinks of his girl. How pleasant it is to hear the winds rage as he lies and holds his girl in his bosom:

quam iuvat immites ventos audire cubantem
et dominam tenero continuisse sinu

(45-46)

At line 45, for the first time we hear of the 'domina", and Tibullus reveals to us that he is a lover this is what is called by critics "the technique of delayed information" (18) Love means every thing to Tibullus. It means much more than wealth and renown. He wants love to be his happy lot (hoc mihi contingat:, 49). Let him be deservedly rich who can endure the rage of the sea and the gloomy rains:

... sit dives iure, furorem

qui maris et tristes ferre potest pluvias.

(49-50)

In the lines just quoted there is the judgement of the poet upon those who travel in search for wealth, those who deny themselves security and comfort. But as for himself, Yibullus wishes that all the gold and emeralds perish before any girl should weep for his travels:

o quantum est pereat potiusque smaragdi,

quam fleat ob nostras ulla puella vias.

(51-52)

At line 53 Tibullus' shifts the emphasis, we are introduced to his patron Messalla (19). This is a turning point in the poem, through which he returns to the previous idea of rejecting war. He announces that his choice of life is

different from his patron's [20] It is Messalla's right to campaign by land and sea so that his house may show the spoils of the enemy:

> te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,
> ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias
>
> (53-54)

But for Tibullus the bonds of a lovely girl are keeping him a defeated captive [21], sitting as a keeper in front of her doors:

> me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae,
> et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.
>
> (55-56)

The profession of personal freedom of the opening lines now comes to an end: (vinctum ... vincla, 55). The picture of Tibullus that we form from this poem is in sharp contrast to that of Messalla. Tibullus is devoted to the life of love and simple pleasures. He adores the countryside and scorns war, wealth and renown. On the other side, Messalla is a wealthy military man of action and an ambitious statesman. But Tibullus doesn't intend to make any judgement concerning his patron's activities [22]. And this does not mean that he is criticizing Messalla when he

considers military action inferior to love and idleness, but he rejects war as a career for himself, a way of life quite unfitted to him. And this does not imply any intended antagonistic political stance on Tibullus' side. He is, before all else, a modest peaceful countryman devoted to the pleasures of life and love, rejects war because it demands effort and restricts his personal happiness. In my view, Tibullus is temperamentally not politically opposed to politics [(23)].

Lines (55-56), quoted above, refer to one of the conventional elegiac themes: the "exclusus atmator", the lover outside the closed door of his girl [(24)]. This is one of the favourite themes in Alexandrian poerty [(25)]. But Tibullus touches upon the idea briefly. Although no setting is indicated in this passage, scholars suggest that it is an urban rather than a rural scene [(26)]. As long as the second part of the poem does not specify an urban setting, it is understandable, I suppose, that the setting is the same. The reader is given a rural setting in the first part of the poem and is led to project it into the second part.

At last Tibullus is addressing his dear Delia[(28)] by name. He does not care to win renown, but only to be with her.

non ego laudari curo, mea Delia, tecum
dum modo sim,

(57-58)

Delia plays a minor role in I. 1[29]. He Doesn't express his emotions towards her, but mentions her to stress his preference for the idle effortless life of Love to that of active military action. After talking much about his vision of living in the countryside, rejecting war and wealth, he turns his thoughts to Delia and to the elegiac conventions, concerning the enjoyment of lifelong love with her. "Tibullus rusticus" (7ff.) and "Tibullus amator" (45ff.) are now considered as being one and the same person.

The perspective of love changes suddenly to death, a transition from one state of mind to another. A sense of pessimism and sorrow now colours the situation and counterbalances the hope of the first of the poem [30]. Tibullus gives a detailed picture of his death and funeral. He wants to look at Delia when his last hour comes, to hold her hand while dying.

te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
et teneam moriens deficiente manu.

(59-60)

He stresses the idea of her weeping for him, repeating "flebis" twice (61 and 63). In a very emotional way he imagines how she is going to give him kisses mixed with bitter tears:

tristibus et lacrimis oscula mixta dabis

How moving it is that from his burial no youth, no maiden will be able to return home dry-eyed:

illo non iuvenis poterit de funere quisquam
lumina, non virgo sicca referre domum
(65-66)

He asks Delia to unite with him in love, while fates allow:

interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores.

It seems more than once that death cast a shadow over Tibullus' thoughts (31). With such a state of mind he mentions death in I.3 (32): his talk of love and Delia is combined with his talk of death.

Tibullus reveals further, in I.1, his pessimism when he talks about death that will come (veniet ... Mors, 70) and the inactive old age that will steal upon him, when it will not be seemly to love nor to say soft words:

iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit,
dicere nec cano blanditias capite.

(71-72)

Now the poem closes - as it starts - on a note of optimism. Tibullus devotes himself to joyous love that will be his business, being still young, it is not shameful to break down doors to get access to his lover:

nunc levis est tractanda venus, dum
frangere postes non pudet

(73-74)

In this respect - as far as love is concerned - Tibullus is a leader and a good soldier (hic ego dux milesque bonus, 75) [(33)]. Here is a reference to the elegiac motif of militia amoris, known in Latin Love Elegy, where love is viewed as a military campaign [(34)]. Words and themes which come in a context of warfare recur in a context of love. The poet-lover emulates the soldier.

Tibullus comes once again to the point which he starts his poem with: the rejection of war and wealth. This ring-composition contributes to the unity of feeling in the poem. Tibullus asks the signals and trumpets of war to go away, to bring wounds to the greedy men, and to bring them

wealth as well:

vos. signa tubaegue.
ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte viris.
ferte et opes,
(75-77)

In the last two verses, Tibullus, being safe with his harvest, scorns wealth as he scorns hunger:

ego composito securus acervo
dites despiciam despiciamque famem.
(77-78)

I would argue that Tibullus' choice of themes in I.1 reveals that he is advancing a conception of his life [35]. What impresses one about this poem is the high frequency of contrasts [36]: "rusticus versus miles and divitiae versus paupertas" in the first part of the poem, "amator versus miles" in the second part. This is to say that Tibullus contrasts his chosen ways of life with that of the soldier.

The countryside is connected in some of Tibullus' poems with the theme of love [37]. Poem I.5. for example, displays love in the countryside. Tibullus is going to live there (rura colam, 21), and Delia will be there with him (aderit mea Delia, 21). But in I.1 Tibullus' preoccupation is

the countryside and love. Although the countryside plays a spectacular role in I.1, Tibullus does not explicitly connect it with the theme of love [38] as he does in I.5.

Much of the scholarship on Tibullus' first poem has been concerned with its programmatic intent. Many critics, if not most, usually call Tibullus I.1 a programmatic poem [39]. There is a point worth attention here. According to my reading of the poem, I can safely say that although there are in I.1 the typically Tibullus ideas or programmatic elements which occur repeatedly in the poet's work-as we have already seen-such as his hatred of war, rejection of wealth, contentment of his lot, acceptance of poverty as a way of life, the desire for a life in the countryside and praise of his patron Messalla, still it is surprising that the theme of love is delayed in I.1 and plays a minor role [40], although it is known and accepted that love is the primary and most characteristic subject of Roman Elegy, and although it is preeminent in most of Tibullus' poems to the extent that he is considered one of the most delicate poets of romantic love. The topic of love does not have the prominence we expect in the opening poem of a collection of love elegy. It was not Tibullus' professed intention in I.1 to work upon the feelings of his girl, nor to make his love story an object of

display. Love with some elegiac motifs are remarkably combined with some Alexandrian ideas in I.1, but love does not dominate the poem. It is rather subordinate to other topics. The poet mainly indulges in visions of the ideal sort of life he would prefer to lead. Rural visions that contain Alexandrian elements win out over love elements in I.1. So the poem is not representative of the whole work. From the standpoint of readers' expectations of a programmatic poem there is a lack of fulfillment. In this perspective, I.1, as I can see it, is not actually programmatic in the full sense of the word.

Notes

1- Cf. Tibullus I.10; II.3. F. Cairns, Tibullus, A Hellenistic poet at Rome, Cambridge, 1979, pp. 24f., considers Tibullus' retection of war an implicit rejection of writing ephic.

2- It is, however, typical of Tibullus that in his present estimation of himself he wishes to be called inactive and idle: (quaeso segnis inersque vocer, 58).

3- Although the debt of the Roman poets to Callimachus is very considerable, that of Tibullus to Callimachus is not acknowledged by the poet in an explicit way as Propertius' debt (Tibullus ia always silent on his literary models). On the influence that Callimachus and Latin poetry, see: B. Arkins, The Freedom of Influence: Callimachus and Latin poetry, Latomus XLVII, 1988. I notice that when Arkins talks about the Callimachean "spectacular" influence on the best of Latin poerty (pp. 286, 393) he does not mention Tibullus in his list, although Tibullus' debt to Callimachus is very great.

4- Hecale is the old lady who offered Theseus hospitality in her humble hut, on his way to Marathon.

5- Supplementum Hellenisticum, 254-269.

6- See: Tib. I.3, I.7 and I.10.

7- Cf. Callim. Epigr. 34, where the poet presents his persona as poor, see also Epigr. 32, 47, 48 and lamb. 3; Theoc. Id. 16.

8- Cf. Tib. II. 1.

9- Because we know that Tibullus was descending from a wealthy family, so he might have been following the Alexandrians in this respect, see above n.7.

10- Tibullus' statements (I.1. 19ff.) to the effect that his farm was once grand but is now humble are usually interpreted by scholars as referring to the famous confiscations, see D.F. Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam, Tibullus In His World. Leiden, C.C. S III, 1978, p. 13; R.O. Lyne, The Latin Love Poets From Catullus To Horace, Oxford, 1980, p. 152.

11- F. Solmsen, Tibullus As An Augustan Poet, Hermes 90, 1962, p. 305, emphasizes the integrity between paupertas and rura, militia and divitiae. Cairns 1979, p. 21, see a connection between Tibullus' simple life in the country and the Hellenistic contempt for the inflated and

pompous in literature.

12- Cf. Tib. I.5; I.10 and II.1.

13- Cf. Tib. I.10 and II.1. For religion in Tibullus see R.B. Palmer, Is There A Religion Of Love In Tibullus? CJ 73, 1977. Consult Cairns (1979) pp. 13ff., 18f., 24, who sees in Tibullus I.1: "rustic reverence", "yearning for a past age", "idealised primitive Roman past", "antiquarian interest", "religious associations", "piety" , "pious reverence for the gods" and "sentimental nostalgia for an ideal past".

14- W.Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets Of The Augustan Age, Horace And The Elegiac Poets, Oxford, 1892, pp. 239f., stresses the point that while Tibullus writes in the spirit of the Georgics, he is quite independent. Solmsen 1962, p. 300, thinks that Tibullus, while doubtless previously sensitive to the attractions of the countryside, became through Virgil more consciously aware of their poetic pontentialities. See also Barbara Boyd, Parva Seges Satis Est: The Landscape Of Tibullan Elegy In I.1 And I.10, TAPA, vol. 114, 1984, p. 274; G. Luck, Love Elegy in: The Cambridge, 1990, p. 116.

15- I do not agree with Cairns 1979, p. 34, when he says

that peace and the farmer in Tib. I.1 have the same import as they have in Virgil's Georg., where the poet's wish to eulogise the achievements of the princeps is quite explicit.

16- Cf. the sort of life-style Theocritus presents in Id. 7.

17- Luck 1990, p. 117, points out to the unity of mood and feeling in I.1. I would like to suggest that Tibullus breaks this unity of mood by the vision of his death and funeral, as I shall demonstrate.

18- See Cairns 1979, pp. 145ff.

19- He was Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a military man and orator. He was one of the equestrian class. He headed a literary circle, to which Tibullus and Ovid belonged. Tibullus' friendship with him was one of the repeated themes of his poetry: 1.3,1.5,1.7, II.1 and II.5.

20 - In the first of I.1, Tibullus compares himself indefintely with "alius" (1f.), any greedy man who collects wealth through war. In the second part of the poem he compares himself with Messalla (53ff.)

21 - The amor versus militia theme appears in Tib. 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 1.7, and I. 10. Cf. prop. III.4.

22 - In an attempt to make a compromise between the two different life-styles of both Tibullus and Messalla, Cairns 1979, p.146, goes so far as to suggest that Tibullus [in I.1] lauds Messalla's martial achievement: as an agricola enjouing Pax, he depends on the achievements of Messalla as general. As a lover he relies on the kindness and understanding of a patron who will not insist on his going to war but will allow him freedom to live as he wishes.

23 - My conclusions are opposite to those of R.J.Ball, The Politics Of Tibullus: Augustus, Messalla and Marcer, GB9, 1980. I agree with Cairns 1979, P.34, who argues that Tibullus' rejection of war as a career for himself in I.1 is a literary gesture rather than a political stance. In Luck's words (1990, p.116) Tibullus "seems to live in a dream-world of his own" The subject of Tibullus' political stance is so vast and lies beyond the the scope of this study.

24 - Cf. Tib. I.2; Prop. I.16; Am. I.6. For the elegiac conventions in the second half of Tib. I.1, see Boyd 1984, P.276.

25 - See for example Callim. Epigr. 43 and 46; Theoc. Id. 3.

26 - See: Sellar 1892, P.234; Solmsen 1962, P.305; J.H. Gaisser, Amor, Rura and Militia in Three Elegies of Tibullus: I.1, I.5 and I.10, Latomus 42, 1983, P. 62.

27 - Notice that the "paraclausithyron" (i.e. the lament of a lover in front of the closed door) in Theoc. Id. 3 has a rustic setting.

28 - Delia is Tibullus' girl-friend who dominates the first book of his Elegies.

29 - Comparer the importance given to Propertius' Cynthia in the first poem of the first book.

30 - Tibullus wishes that hope would not disappoint him: (nec Spes destituat, 17).

31 - Cf. Tib. I.10. Perhaps Tibullus was not endowed with good health. For the various interpretations of the theme of death in Tib. I.1, see Gaisser 1983, p. 64.

32 - See my discussion: The Propempticon In Tibullus I.3, Bullus Of The Center Of Papyrological Studies And Inscriptions, No.XLL, Part 1, Ain Shams Univ. Cairo 1995, PP. 147-8.

33 - Taking into consideration the fact that Gallus was a genuine dux milesque, E.W. Leach, Poetics And Design

In Tibullus' First Elegiac Book, Arethusa 13, 1980, pp. 85f., argues that Tibullus' new formula cleverly implies the elegist's determination to prove a more successful lover than his predecessor.

34- "Militia Amoris" is a very Roman motif. Cf. Prof. IV.8; Ov. Am. I.9.

35- Solmsen 1962, p. 305, thinks that I.1 is evidently meant to be the poet's self-introduction to his readers. Leach 1980, p. 84, correctly considers Tibullus I.1, "an ars vivendi which carries ... the weight of a poetic manifesto".

36- Palmer 1977, pp. 6 and 10, most sensilly points out to the fact that Tibullus builds up his poetic world through a subtle mixture of antitheses.

37- Cf.Tib. II.1 and II.3; Theoc. Id. 11. Gaisser 1983, paaim., traces the relationship between amor, rura and militia in I.1, I.5 and I.10. He establishes the importance of this relationship for Tibullan elegy as a whole.

38- Scholars stress the point that love and the countryside are completely separate in I.1. Solmsen 1962, p. 305, points out that just as Delia is not mentioned as long as

the delights of rural life are spread out before us, so in the part concerned with amor and Delia no effort is made to remember the rural setting of the first half. Gaisser 1983, p.62 notices that in the description of Tibullus' career as amator (59-74) there is no reference to the theme of the rura. Boyd 1984, p. 227, note that when Tibullus shifts his attention to Delia, he implicitly abandons his farm. But I would like to propose that there is an implicit relationship between love and the countryside in I.1. As I have said (above p.5), the reader is led to project the rural setting of the first part of the poem into the second part.

39- See for example: Cairns 1979, p. 11; Leach 1980, p. 86; Lyne 1980, p. 68; Gaisser 1983, p. 67.

40- Gaisser 1983, p. 72, thinks that Tibullus does not represent himself as essentially or primarily a poet of love.

Alexandre Le Grand et l'environnement : une proposition sur les moyens de reconstitution

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Alexandre Le Grand et l'environnement:une proposition sur les moyens de reconstitution.

Introduction

Les sources principales pour l' etude du paleoenvironnement a la periode chronologique considerée sont des textes bien connus. Pourtant il y a plusieurs cotes encore obscurs qui demandent a etre eclaircis. L'exploitation et le respect de l'environnement comme realite naturelle et aussi comme concept philosophique sont des themes d'etudes inepuisables et de recherches depuis l' antiquite classique.

L'environnement naturel peut etre detecte par les moyens et les methodes scientifiques modernes appliquées actuellement aux restes archeologiques. Le regime alimentaire par exemple d' un groupe humain peut etre connu par l' etude des restes d' animaux, des restes des plantes ou d'autres recueillis sur la fouille. D'ailleurs l' etude typologique est actuellement tellement poussee que l'identification des restes provenant du monde des animaux et des plantes se fait sans hestitation. Les pourcentages sont assez fiables et le resultat tres satisfaisant pour la connaissance de la

liste des especes consummees, et aussi des especes importées, exportées, exotiques, la periode de chasse, de collecte etc. L'alimentation nous aide á comprendre l'environnement immédiat ou lointain. Ainsi arrive-t-on á déduire I' écosysteme, le type de I' environnement et ensuite le type d'économie du groupe concidéré. Ces donnees aident a mieux comprendre I' amitie, I' hostilite et les rapports commerciaux parmi populations differentes.

La matiére premiére des objects et des constructions donnent egalement des renseignements pour leur lieu de provenance et de fabrication. Tel est le cas des ivoires recherches surtout au Moyen Orient. Les objects en ivoire sont souvent travaillés en Gréce dans les ateliers locaux. Ces données aident á mieux comprendre I' amitié, I' hostilité et les rapports commerciaux parmi populations differentes.

L' importance de I' environnement est observable sur le plan du comportement humain, qui est influence par I' intrusion d' habitudes et des pratiques ayant a faire avec un autre ecosysteme (Habit, boisson, stimulant, hallucinant etc). On peut ainsi connaitre le mode de vie

et les moeurs des groupes humains et méme leur composition phyletique par I' étude des restes anthropologiques. L' application de ces methodes utilisées surtout par I' archéologie de I' environnement sur les restes des civilisations prehistoriques est prouvée étre d' une importance majeure. Les fouilles des périodes historiques, peuvent etre completés avec des études specialisées (étude d' ossements, de coquillages, de grains, de pollens, de charbons, et d' autres restes organiques et inorganiques).

La multitude des textes, parlant de la vie et des exploits d' Alexandre accompagnés par des restes archéologiques de valeur incontestable ont deprivé les endroits par óu il est passé d' une étude environnementale detaillée. Celle-ci était considerée comme insignifiante á coté des monuments, des chefs d' oeuvre et des textes écrits par des erudits. C'est le moment de changer de direction, de reconsiderer la signification du terme archéologie n' étant plus I' étude du beau mais de I' ensemble des trouvailles d' un site, I' étude de I' étre humain á travers histoire.

Cette communication a comme but de susciter I'

interet des fouilleurs et des scientifiques interressés á la vie et aux actes de ce Roi á entreprendre des études sur l' environnement.

L' environnement dans les textes de la période d' Alexandre

A. Le desir scientifique, motivation pour l' exploration.

L' expédition militaire d' Alexandre le Grand, en dehors de sa signification historique, a énormement contribué a l' ouverture de l' horizon scientifique de l' épogue.

Alexandre le grand n' est pas uniquement le roi, chef de guerre dont on vante si souvent les qualités, il est entre autres un explorateur, un geographe, un homme de science, qui s' interresse a la nature a la terre, a la meeer, au ciel, aux hommes: aux animaux et aux plantes. Le fait qu il commence sa campagne entouré non seulement de militaires mais aussi d' importants savants et scientifiques de son epoque prouve sa culture et l' influence exercée sur lui par Aristote. Il ramene des architectes (Deinokrate), des geographes (Aristoboule, Xenocrate, Androsthene), des ingénieurs (Diade de Thessalie et Charias), des historiens, des poétes et des

pilosophes. Leur tache est d' observer et d' étudier les plantes, les animaux, la nature des pays ou tout autre phenomene rencontré en chemin et d' enregistrer les observations faites. Le Roi controlait personnellement ces releves et dessins qui etaient ensuite verses aux archives etatiques de Babylone.

A travers cette oeuvre scientifique d' etude de I' environnement et de la nature pointe I' incessante passion du jeune roi pour la decouverte de I' inconnu.

Lorsque, ayant atteint son but, il acheve sa campagne d' Asie et qu' il s'oppose au reffus de ces troupes de le suivre dans d' autres conquetes, il redevient le chercheur scientifique. Sa desicion de ne pas revenir par la meme route qu'il avait empuruntee precedemment mais de confier Nearchos une flotte qui devait revenir par l'Indus et le golfe Persique, montre bien que la recherche et decouverte scientifique etait un de ses objectifs pricipaux.(1)

(1) "Πόθον μεν είναι Αλεξάνδρω εκπεριπλώσαι την θάλασσαν την από Ινδων έστε επι την Περσικήν ..."(Αρρ. Ινδική, 20). "Έδοξεν εξερευνικέναι του Νείλου τας αρχάς ..."(Αρρ. 6,1). "Ως απιδείν του ποταμού την εκβολήν την ες την θάλασσαν ..."(Αρρ. ΣΤ, 19). "Ως καταμαθείν, οπή ευπωτέρα η εκβολή του Ινδού ες τον Πόντον γίγνεται ..." (Αρρ. ΣΤ 20).

B. Mission Scientifique

On dit qu'Alexandre Pensait contourner l'Arabie,[2] l'Ethiopie, la Libye, les nomades et arriver encore plus loin. Ayant toujours le premier mot pour tout-projet, il veut tout savoir : si l'embouchure de l'Indus est large ou sont les sources du Nile. Il a meme essaye de calculer les distances d'un pays a l'autre en comptant les pas des personnes designees a cette tache.

La preuve la plus significative de son desir d'observer, d'etudier, de decouvrir est d'avoir choisi la localite et d'avoir fait soi-meme le plan de la ville d' Alexandrie. [3] Le choix du site pour la fondation de la ville n'est aucunement laisse au hasard; c'est l'endroit ideal sur le plan strategique, geographique, du climat et l'environnement.

(2) "Εκπεμφθείς επί κατασκοπήν του παράπλου ως επί τους Αραβας ..."

(3) "Κρίνας δ' εν ταύτη πόλιν μεγάλην κτίσαι προσέταξε τοις επί την επιμέλειαν ταύτην καταλειπομένοις ανα μέσον της τε λίμνης και της θαλάσσης οικίσαι την πόλιν ... ευστιχία δε της ρυμοτομίας ποιήσας διαπνείσθαι την πόλιν τοις ετησίοις ανέμοις και των πνεόντων μεν δια του μεγίστου πελάγους, καταψυχόντων δε τον κατά την πόλιν αέρα πολλήν τοις κατοικούσιν ευκρασίαν και υγείαν κατεσκεύασεν ... ανά μέσον γαρ ων μεγάλης λίμνης και θαλάσσης δύο μόνον από της γης έχει προσόδους στενάς και παντελώς ευφυλάκτους." (Διόδωρος Σικελιώτης βιβλ. IZ-LII).

. Preuve de l' importance qu'il accorde a l'aspect culturel de son oeuvre est le fait qu' il s' est occupe souvent a l' amelioration du terrain des pays conquis. Comme au cas du fleuve Pollakopa en Asie. Ce fleuve etait principalement alimente par les eaux d' Euphrate et il approvisionnait en eau l' Assyrie. [1] Alexandre a decide la diversion des eaux du Pollakopa pour eviter leur drainage par les terrains boueux qu'il traversait auparavant.

Il s' interessait a connaitre tous les pays lointains. A ce but il envoyait specialement des explorateurs pour verifier toute information. Il a appris par Archias, qui a voyage en bateau jusqu' a l' embouchure d' Euphrate, l' existence de deux iles. L' une etait petite, boisee, pleine de chervres sauvages et de cerfs. L' autre etait distante de l' embouchre de l' Euphrate, d' un jour et d' une unit, plus grande, sans bois, plate avec des arbres fruitiers. Il a appele la premiere ile ÍKAROS et la deuxieme TYLOS.

(1) "Ταύτα απαγγελθέντα επήγαγεν Αλέξανδρον ωφελήσαι τι την χώραν την Ασσυρίαν" (Αρριανός)

L' expedition d' Alexandre a constitue une source d' informations scientifiques sur les dimensions et les characteristiques de fleuves des Indes.

C. Phenomenes naturels, climatologie

La climatologie interesse egalement les savants qui accompagnent Alexandre. Leus rapports sur le climate des pays occupes constituent une bonne base de reference. Arriane decrit les causes pour lequelles les fleuves des Indes debordent en ete, innondant les plaines: les fortes precipitations estivales sur les montagnes. A la suite de cette observation il deduit que la meme cause provoque l' innondation de la basse Egypte par les eaux du Nile. De fortes precipitations sur les montagnes d' Ethiopie doivent etre la cause du phenomene. Cette comparaison conduit a une conclusion generale sur l' ecosysteme, la faune et la flore des Indes, de l' Egypte et de l' Ethiopie. On rencontre les memes especes de poissons, les crocodiles etc.

(1) "ἡ δε των ελεφάντων θήρα ουδέν τι αλλη ἐοικεν, ότι και ταῦτα τα θηρία ουδαμοίσιν ἀλλοισι θηρίοις επέοικεν".(Αρριανός, Ινδική, 13)

Ces nouvelles connaissances concernent aussi des phenomenes naturels. Par exemple le flux et le reflux de la maree a l' embouchure de l' Indus a fait que le flot d' Alexandre s' est trouve subitement en terre et de nouveau dans la mer.

A l' occasion du periple de Nearchos, Arriane decrit en detail la morphologie des cotes, la direction du vent, les particularites du fond de la mer, la formation des ports des iles ect.

Des observations d' astronomie sont egalement presentes. Nearchos rapporte qu' au periple des Indes la direction de l' ombre n' etait pas la meme au sud qu' au nord. Certaines etoiles connues n' etaient pas visibles, tandis que d' autres qui etaient tout le temps visibles se levaient et se couchaient.

D. La faune

La faune des nouveaux pays suscite un grand interet aux soldats de l'armee mais aussi aux habitants de la Grece. L'elephant est l'animal le plus impressionant et Arriane procure des details sur sa physiologie, a l'occasion d'une chasse d'elephants (la periode de reproduction, le nombre de petits et la duree

d'allaitement). [1] Il decrit aussi le singe et le tigre, en vantant sa rapidite et sa force. Nearchos decrit certaines de serpents, et pour la premiere fois la baleine et l'utilisation de ses os a la construction des huttes. Le perroquet est decrit comme un oiseau magique, qui peut immiter la Voix humaine.

E. La flore

Plusieurs especes botaniques sont decrtites par Aristoboule et Arriane. Dans le desert de Gedrosie poussent des myrrhes d' une taille exceptionelle et les racines des nars parfument l' air. Parmi d' autres especes un arbuste ressemblant au laurrier a des fleurs-blanches semblables a celles des violettes. Theophraste raconte (VIII 11,6) la duree de conservation des grains de cereales en Iran, et aussi pousses en Egypte et en Euphrate, comment se fait la recolte du ble a Babylone, comment a ete effectuee la fameuse plantation d' arbres faites par Arpalos et enfin il decrit les plantes des Indes. (IV, V)

Le progres remarquable de l' agriculture de la periode qui suit est le resultat des nouvelles connaissances acquises et de leur aplication a la production.

F. Anthrologie sociale et physique

Alexandre connaissant la capacite de l' homme a s' adapter a son environnement naturel et social, il s' est oriente vers l' application de l' idee suivante. Il installe des groupes humains, comme des noyaux, dans des ecosysteme tres varies. Il a accepte en avance le mode de vie des indigenes comme le mieux adapte aux circonstances environnementals immediates.Les survivances des traits anthropologiques et culturels characteristiques des soldats d' Alexandre le Grand sont observables actuellement sur certains groupes humains qui vivent au centre de l' Asie.

Epilogue

Le concentration d' un tel nombre de connaissances en un si bref delai represente une phenomene unique de l' Antiquite et ces acquisitions on consistute une source inestimable qui a amene des changements considerables au niveau scientifique. La geographie. en particulier prit

une forme nouvelle grace a la realisation d' une carte maritime selon les instructions d'Alexandre Theophraste le fondateur de la botanique s est appuye sur les donnees enregistrees sur l' Asie orientale, versees aux archives de Babylone pour developper cette science.

Alexandre respectait dans chaque pays conquis. l'environnement, le savoir, les moeurs et a ainsi ouvert largement les portes du monde asiatique sur la culture grecque occidentale.

De ces observations, il resort combien l' etude des restes de vegetaux. D'animaux ou autres receuillis sur la fouille est pour le chercheur actuel un moyen d'etude scientifique pour la reconstitution du paleoenvironnement.

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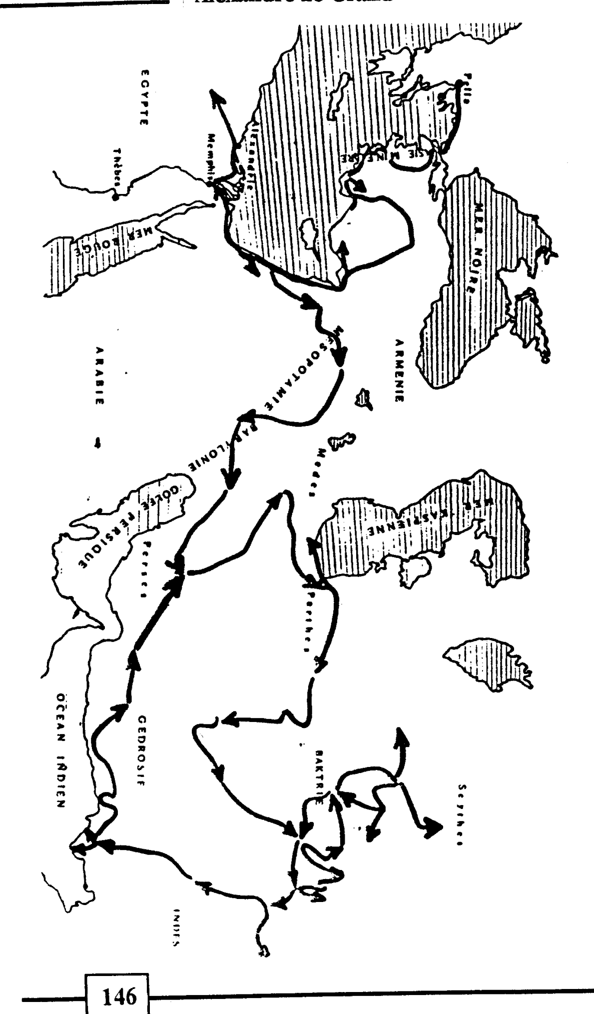
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EGYPTE
Thèbes
Memphis
MER ROUGE
ARABIE
MER NOIRE
ARMENIE
Mèdes
Perses
Parthes
GEDROSIE
OCÉAN INDIEN
BAKTRIE
Scythes

A Granite Head of Alexander The Great From Alexandria

By

Dr. *Baheia Shahin*

Alexander the Great, when he came to Egypt in the autumn of the year 332 B.C and founded the city of Alexandria, in fact, he started a romance which went over the world through many centuries.(1)

Alexander's principal aim was the political unification under a single rule, since it was not his intention that Macedonians and Greeks should be sole masters, they were to share the dominion with the former rulers of the East.(2). Therefore, the essential characteristic of the hellenistic city was cosmopolitanisem. Alexandria, as a cosmopolitan Hellenistic city, its population was as mixed as possible: Greek and Macedonian elit which followed the Greek cultural traditions, Egyptian population that lived very much as it had thousands of years earlier forming the main body of the population and a large Jewish colony.(3) Thus, a greek superstructure had to be built in ptolemaic Egypt. But from the artistic point of view, there is a realy unique character about the art in Hellenistic Egypt, that is its split personality which

had both Alexandrian and pharaonic traditions. The thoroughness of that stylistic duality is particularly well documented in the ptolemaic royal portraiture.(4)

The concept of ruler portraiture was certainly encourged by Alexander himself. It is well known that, in his lifetime, Alexander decreed that only the famous sculptor Lysippos should make his portraits, for it seems that only Lysippos brought out his real noble character and gave from to his essential excellence.(5) Our information regarding Lysippos' style is derived from ancient witers mainely from Plutarch,(6) the roman author who mentioned satisfactory detailed descriptions, due to which many portraits of Alexander were easily recognizable.(7)

The passage of Plutarch was discussed and over-emphasized by many authors of a later period especially Schreiber. So, accorrdingly, the characteristics of Alexander's image **are** :-

a) The neck, was turned to the left and thus the head would necessarily be inclined to the right,(8)

b) The longmane of hair over the forehead, <u>αναστολη Τησ</u>

Κομησ,(9) with a parting line which divides it into two halves with rising locks on either side of the head. Many scholares considered that αναστολη is a borrowed feature from some one of the divinities most probably from a zeus type.(10)

c) The face is well-rounded and the half-open-eyes with a melting glance.(11) as in the most famous example named *"Azara Herme"*(12)

In other words and according to Plutarch's description, Lysippos was the only greek artist who had the ability to capture the Εθοσ of Alexander and made stress on Alexander's ethos more than his political position establishing the tendency of the psychological portraits in Hellenistic time and the main interest was given to the expression of Alexander's face and noble,(13) not to his physical features.

Hence, the Lysippan portraits of Alexander explained the greek point of view in emphasizing the idea of representing Alexander as a divinely hero(14) and that the general conception seems to have impressed itself so strongly upon the mind of the public,(15) because of the wide-spread use of the type after Alexander's death.(16) So, after his death Alexander

's portraits were perpetuated with reverence and circulated even more widely than it had been during his lifetime, because he became a kind of patron deity especially in Egypt with which his association was already strong after his visit to the Ammunium at siwa, and the priest greeted him as son of Ammon.(17)

In Egypt, many heads of Alexander are found and collected by Schreiber in his *"Bildniss Alexanders"*, as a matter of fact, those works are usually poor and have not the modelling of the first class work but the softness of the technique glozes over its imperfection.(18)

I am focusing on a granite head of Alexander the Great in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. Although Schreiber mentioned it among many heads from Alexandria but it had not been studied before in a complete study. The granite material of which the head is made, as it is common in Egyptian sculpture as it is foreign in Greek sculpture, So, it is assumed that a native sculptor made it giving a striking example of the assimilation of Hellenic and native art in ptolemaic art. The head was found in Alexandria, perhaps one intended for the sanctuary of Alexander in the city.

And because a native sculptor made the granite head, it does not help us much in visualizing the expression of the original Lysippan portrait of Alexander, although the typical features of the lysippan style, mentioned by Plutarch, are obvious :-

a) Turn of the neck,

b) The expressive glance, pathos, from the deep-set eyes,

c) The anastole over the forehead and waving side hair about the cheeks.

It is obvious that the sculptor neglected many details of the impressionist technique but we must bear in mind that head does not claim to be a portrait but it is treated in a Lysippic manner to represent the deified hero, Alexander.

It is worthy mentioning here that not long before his death, Alexander gave an official notice that he was to be regareded as a god as he was declared as the son of Ammon.(19) Hence, Alexander appeared on the coins with ram's horn of the Graeco-Egyptian God Zeus-Ammon.(20) Comperatively, many images of Alexander on different monuments such as Alexander sarcophagus and the famous Alexander mosaics gave the proof that, in his lifetime

Alexander was represented with short hair.[21] One can affirim that the images of Alexander with short hair representing him as an undevini hero and leader[22] while those with long mane of hair were expressing the spirit of the devinized Alexander.[23] But in all the protraits of Alexander both those with short hair and those with long hair. Alexander looks young because of the absence of a beard.[24]

Anyhow, on the top of the granite head here there is a large hole which must have been used to fit an ornament attached to the diadem. Some scholars claimed that it would be Ammon crown,[25] others claimed to be the uraeus.[26] But I myself accept that it would be the uraeus **for the following reasons :-**

1- There is a relief on the wall of a new sanctuary built in the temple of luxor to the honour of Alexander after proclaiming himself as a son of Ammon, there, Alexander is represented as an Egyptian Pharao wearing double crown over a royale headdress with uraeus.[27]

2- There is a colossal head in red granite of Ptolemy V Philopatr in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, the

Ptolemy wears in the pharaonic manner the double crown of upper and lower Egypt with the uraeus.(28)

3- There is a Hellenistic royal head dated to about 250-200 B.C. in the Museum of Natural History in New Haven(29) and was made by a native Egyptian sculptor as it is made in Egyptian material (Schist) and in that royal head are the royal headcoth, the inlay of eyes and the uraeus to confirim the Egyptianizing touch of the work.(30)

4- It is most probably that it is the uraeus because the mative sculptor would prefere to execute his work in accordance with the mative canon.

The Egyptian flavor is also obvious in inlaying eyes in the granite head of Alexander in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria(31) and that was not common in Greek art. What was inlaid here disappeared and we see nothing but the hollows but depending on other examples as in the heads representing Ptolemy IV, ptolemy V, and ptolemy VI in the Graeco-Roman Museum(32) and as in the royal hellenistic heads from News Haven.(33) Depending on such example one can assume that using inlaids for eyes became so related to the Egyptianizing touch in mixed sculpture in Hellenistic Egypt.

Concerning the date of the granite head of Alexander in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, I can date it to the early third century B.C depending on the following facts :-

1- It is agreed that there was a revival of Egyptian art since Philopator due to the policy adopted by the ptolemies in the reign of that ptolemy as it is obvious in the reliefs of Ptolemy IV(34) and those of ptolemy VI(35) reflecting, from the artistic point of view, the awaking of the Egyptian artistic spirit.

2- Historically speaking the chance was given to the Egyptian art to revive after the victory in the Battle of Raphia 217 B.C du to the efforts of the Egyptians and the ptolemies conciliated the Egyptians.(36) Then the assimilation of Hellenic and mative art began.

3- An excellent proof of the power of the native Egyptian elements in the Ptolemaic art is the significant production of faience vases called Queen Oinochoai dated to the early third century B.C.(37) They were designed for the festivals founded in rder to honour living or dead ptolemaic rulers and we know a good deal about the first of these festivals in Egypt, the Arsinoeia.(38) The Queen Oinchoai are clearly

reflecting various degrees of Egyptianization from vessel to vessel especially in representing the queen in dress of Isis,(39) the candid flavour of the queen's portrait, the type of the alter represented, all those elements came frome Egyptian traditions to confirim the new status which the Egyptianizing tendency took place in the ptolemaic art in the early 3rd century B.C.

In summary, the granite head of Alexander here in spite of the representation of all the characteristics of Lysippan style but the material and the attribute follows the Egyptian inspiration. So, the head was made by a native Egyptian sculptor, from those, the greek esidents often patronised but they continued to work in the old Egyptian style though greek influence is evident.(40) And it is dated to the early third century B.C.

It is therefore obvious that the mixed sculpture in ptolemaic art is the result of both the mixed society and the ability of the artisit to acclimatize himself to the atmosphere in which he was working in and not at all the result of fusing of the two civilizations together.

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- Like the head from Alexandria in a poor shape and of inferior material of which the outline and the upward gaze of the eyes agree more with another head now in the British Museum with its seemingly dreamy pathos and the deep set eyes and the manner in which the lips are represented.

cf: Schreiber, op, cit fig. 6, Ph. II D.

19- Tarn, op.cit. p. 43.

20- Hinks, R.P., *"Greek and Roman Portrait sculpture"*, London, 1935, fig. 15.

21- Pollitt, op. cit. p. 37.

22- Many heads represented Alexander with short hair emph-
asizing that those images are of undevinized hero.

23- Ridgway, op. cit. p. 133 .

24- Ridgway, op. cit. p. 114 .

- After his conquest of Persia, Alexander followed that persian costum more or Alexander might wanted to remain the youthful hero like Achilles.

25- Schreiber, op. cit. p. 56 .

26- Breccia, op. cit. p 176 .

27- Noshy, I, *"The Arts of Ptolemaic Egypt"*, Oxford, 1937,
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31- Breccia, op. cit. p. 176 .

32- Idem, op. cit. pp 184, 185 .

33- Bothmer, op. cit. pp. 131, 132 .

34- Jaquier, L. *"Les temples Ptolemaique et Romaines"*,
Paris, 1924, III, PL. XIV, 1-3 .

35- Jacquier, op. cit., PL XXIII nos 1,2, PL, L1

- The faces were not so heavy, the eyes not so narrow. The reliefs are marked by full not heavy faces, long but proportioned bodies, wide but not staring eyes, protruding but faintly smiling lips and careful modelling.

cf: Noshy, op. cit. p. 118.

36- Abbadi, M., *"Egypt from Alexander the great to the Arab conquest"*, Alexandria, 1992, p. 74.

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